



The Journal of Dress History

Volume 3, Issue 1, Spring 2019

Front Cover Image:

Studio Portrait of Three Brothers, (from Left) Carlo Dalfollo, Giuseppe Dalfollo, and Pietro Dalfollo, Photographer Unknown, 1920, Saugerties, New York, United States, Private Collection, Estes Park, Colorado, United States.

The Journal of Dress History

Volume 3, Issue 1, Spring 2019

Special Themed Issue

Dress and War:
Clothing and Textiles at Home and Abroad
during the First World War Era, 1910-1920



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Published by
The Association of Dress Historians
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www.dresshistorians.org



The Journal of Dress History
Volume 3, Issue 1, Spring 2019

journal@dresshistorians.org
www.dresshistorians.org

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ISSN 2515-0995
Online Computer Library Centre (OCLC) accession #988749854

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The Editorial Board of The Journal of Dress History encourages the unsolicited submission for publication consideration of academic articles on any topic of the history of dress, textiles, and accessories of all cultures and regions of the world, from before classical antiquity to the present day. Articles and book reviews are welcomed from students, early career researchers, independent scholars, and established professionals. If you would like to discuss an idea for an article or book review, please contact Jennifer Daley, editor-in-chief of The Journal of Dress History, at email journal@dresshistorians.org. Consult the most recently published issue for updated submission guidelines for articles and book reviews.

The Journal of Dress History is designed on European standard A4 size paper (8.27 x 11.69 inches) and is intended to be read electronically, in consideration of the environment. The graphic design utilises the font, Baskerville, a serif typeface designed in 1754 by John Baskerville (1706-1775) in Birmingham, England. The logo of the ADH is a monogram of three letters, ADH, interwoven to represent the interdisciplinarity of our membership, committed to scholarship in dress history. The logo was designed in 2017 by Janet Mayo, longstanding ADH member.

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Welcome

Dear ADH Members and Friends,

The articles published in this special themed issue are a result of our annual International Conference of Dress Historians, which was held in London on 26 October 2018, and titled, *Dress and War: Clothing and Textiles at Home and Abroad during the First World War Era, 1910–1920*. Additionally, this issue includes reviews of recently published academic books in dress history.

I hope you enjoy reading this issue. As always, if you have comments about this issue or an interest in writing an academic article or book review for future publication, please contact me. I look forward to hearing from you.

Best regards,

Jennifer Daley
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“The Importance of Being Jeweled:” Patriotism and Adornment in the United States during the First World War

Ariana Bishop

Abstract

During the First World War in the United States, civilian practices of adornment transformed in response to the turbulent political atmosphere and women’s changing roles in society. There had been a tradition of wearing severe black jewellery in times of mourning or even avoiding jewellery altogether, and most of the literature maintains that jewellery-wearing was halted by the war as public opinion considered luxurious displays of adornment unbecoming. Yet new styles of jewellery were introduced and women were even encouraged to don their most exquisite jewels. While some desired jewellery for the sentimental purpose of remembering loved ones fighting overseas, many others embraced such ornaments as symbols of patriotism and as a means of promoting prosperity in wartime. Freed from the limitations of traditional Victorian-era mourning customs, women used personal adornment to fulfill a patriotic duty of encouraging, inspiring, and carrying out wartime efforts.

Introduction

There is no wearing-apparel that evidences prosperous times as do rare jewels. Jewels are the emblems of wealth and power. If these are discarded, are we to believe that the era of imposing and stately ceremonies has passed?¹

The American women's magazine, *Vogue*, posed this question to readers in the 15 November 1917 issue, in an article, titled, "The Importance of Being Jeweled," in response to the noticeable disappearance of the display of jewellery by women. Seven months prior, on 6 April 1917, the United States Congress had declared war on Germany, entering one of the largest and deadliest conflicts in global history: the First World War. Beginning in July 1914 and lasting until November 1918, the Great War spurred tremendous change in the daily lives of Americans, including how women adorned themselves. As *Vogue* suggested, during this period of extraordinary political upheaval and rapid social change, the propriety of wearing jewellery was questioned but its significance was also reinterpreted. This article examines the changes in jewellery-wearing practices and attitudes towards personal adornment by American women over the course of the First World War to gain insight into its significance during that tumultuous era.

Political Jewellery of the Nineteenth Century

Jewellery has long functioned as a way to identify oneself with a particular group, to express political leanings, to celebrate national pride, and to commemorate significant moments of war and peace. During the nineteenth century, jewellery aided in shaping national consciousness among the German and other Central European states by displaying symbols of unification. This symbolism began in the 1810s during the Prussian War of Liberation when the citizens of Berlin were urged to contribute their gold and silver jewellery to the government to help fund the war against Napoleon I, who had seized the country in 1806. In return, women were given cast iron jewellery, including brooches and rings which often bore the inscription, *Gold gab ich für Eisen*, [I gave gold for iron]. Cast iron jewellery thus became a symbol of Prussian patriotism and resistance to French imperialism. Indeed, long after the Napoleonic wars, iron ornaments in Prussia and elsewhere continued to be made and worn in Central Europe as symbols of national identity and pride.² For example, 36 years after the

¹ "The Importance of Being Jeweled," *Vogue*, New York, New York, United States, 15 November 1917, p. 55.

² Yvonne J. Markowitz, *Artful Adornments: Jewelry from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, The Museum of Fine Arts Publications, Boston, Massachusetts, United States, 2011, p. 77.

Napoleonic wars, during the winter of 1851, Hungarian patriot Lajos Kossuth (1802–1894) and his wife, Countess Pulasky (1809–1865) began a two-year campaign in England and the United States to gain support for Hungarian independence from the Austro-Hungarian Empire. English poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1807–1882) and his wife, Frances Appleton Longfellow (1817–1861), supported Kossuth's pro-democracy efforts and welcomed the couple enthusiastically. During their stay with the Longfellows in England, the Countess gifted Mrs. Longfellow a cast iron brooch and bracelet (Figure 1).

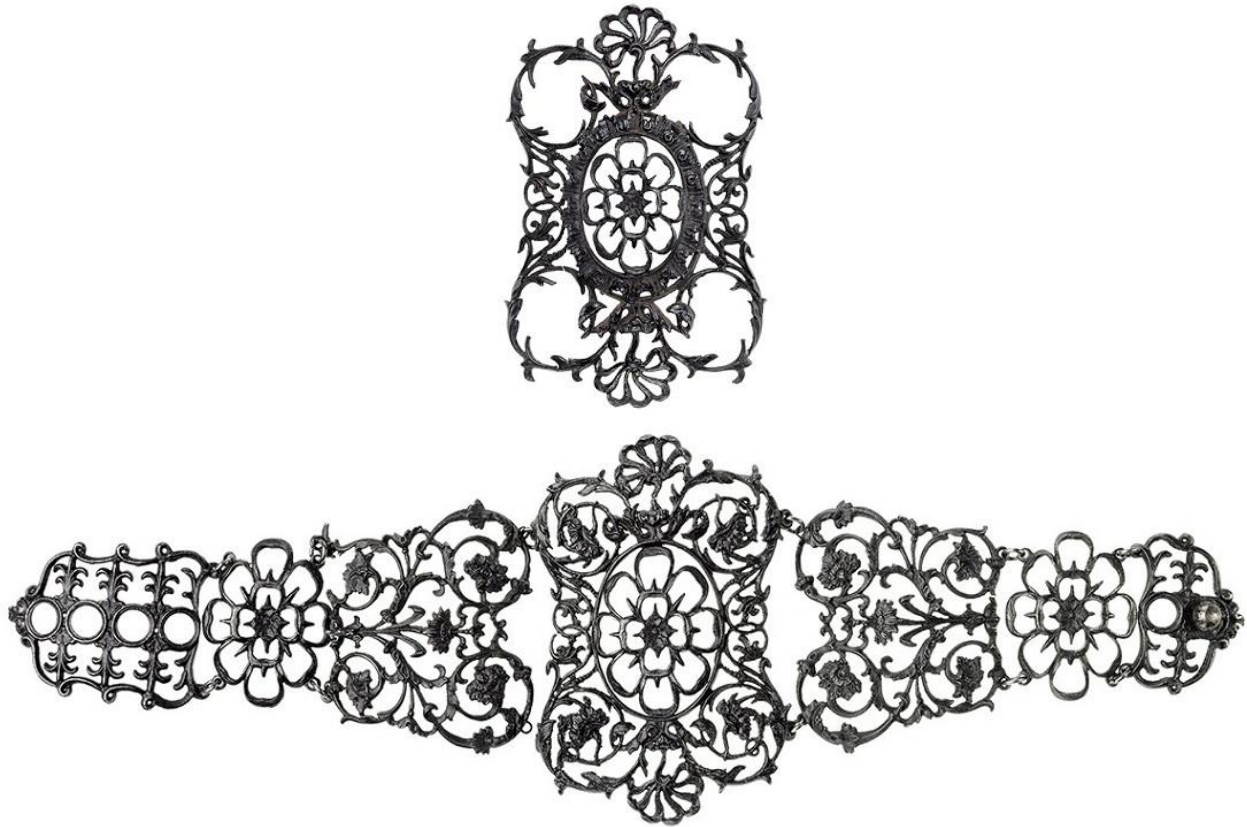


Figure 1:

Cast Iron Jewellery Suite, Germany, circa 1850,

© The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Massachusetts, United States, 17.201, 17.203,
Gift of Miss Alice M. Longfellow and Mrs. Joseph G. Thorp.

The United States also had a tradition of patriotic jewellery from when it was at war with Great Britain during the Napoleonic era. The gold, silver, and diamond brooch in the shape of a bald eagle (Figure 2) is particularly emblematic of the American ideals of freedom, strength, and independence.³ Like the Prussian cast iron versions,

³ Judith Price, *Lest We Forget: Masterpieces of Patriotic Jewelry and Military Decorations*, Taylor Trade Publishing, Lanham, Maryland, United States, 2011, p. 24.

this rare example of early American patriotic jewellery displayed the wearer's national identity and allegiance to country. Jewellery as a display of patriotism thus existed long before the First World War, both in Europe and the United States. However, it was during the 1914-1918 conflict that the large-scale production of patriotic jewellery began and attitudes regarding wartime adornment also shifted.



Figure 2:
Eagle Brooch, circa 1812-1820,
© A La Vieille Russie, New York, New York, United States.

Wartime Fashion: The New Mode in Jewellery

Most scholarly literature maintains that jewellery-wearing was halted by the First World War, as wartime conditions made producing and purchasing jewellery difficult, since many of the industry's designers and workmen went into defence work, and there was a reduction in the importation of such essential precious metals as platinum. Several jewellery manufacturers, including The EA Bliss Company of Meriden, Connecticut, ceased production of jewellery to focus on producing war-related equipment, including weapons, lighters, and medals. Additionally, during the early years of the war, public opinion viewed luxurious displays of adornment as unbecoming during this period of national mourning. Although the United States did not officially enter the war until 1917, thousands of Americans ignored the country's initial stance on neutrality and immediately volunteered for French, British, and

Canadian military and humanitarian services.⁴ Thus, as early as 1915, Americans were experiencing the tragic consequences of the war, and fashion publications including *Vogue*, *Harper's Bazaar*, and *Women's Wear* informed readers how to dress appropriately in times of mourning. In August 1916, Weymer Mills (1880–1938), fashion editor for *Vogue*, stated of wartime fashion, “Jewels are considered very bad form, and even a simple string of pearls is left in its strong box.”⁵ The same year, *Vogue* repeated, “All unnecessary accessories must be eliminated...the woman who really feels her bereavement knows instinctively that coloured jewelry of any kind...[is] decidedly out of keeping with her frame of mind.”⁶ Indeed, ostentatious adornment was considered out of place in wartime and women in mourning were discouraged from wearing extravagant ornaments. However, women did not simply abandon their jewels and wait for prosperous times to take them out of their strong boxes.

In fact, attitudes were changing, and in the same 1916 *Vogue* article that advised against wearing even a string of pearls, Mills wrote, “Fashion will arise even in the jaws of death.”⁷ While specifically referring to clothing, the statement rings true for jewellery since even in grave times women desired adornment. The drab, colourless American fashions that emerged during the First World War required a smart brooch or a necklace to “freshen up” an ensemble even while maintaining sartorial decorum. Particular styles became popular as ornaments yet were tastefully suited to wartime.⁸ Most notably, black and white jewellery became the new mode. Chains of black enamel or jet beads were worn, and wartime fashion saw a revival of the black and white portrait miniature of the eighteenth century.⁹ In 1914, Cartier introduced its now famous *Panthère* [Panther] motif that featured spotted black onyx used in an innovative watch-brooch design.¹⁰ Black onyx also appeared in bandeaus, bracelets, earrings, chains, and necklaces with tassel pendants. Locketts, carrying portraits or locks of hair, also sold well. Ranging in shape from the traditional heart motif to more unique styles, including canteen and bullet configurations, lockets were often

⁴ Reuters, “American Volunteers Entered World War I Early,” 18 February 2015, <https://www.voanews.com/a/american-volunteers-entered-world-war-one-early/2648881.html>, Accessed 30 March 2019.

⁵ Weymer Mills, “The Shadow of Romance,” *Vogue*, New York, New York, United States, 15 August 1916, p. 48.

⁶ “Mourning as it is Worn,” *Vogue*, New York, New York, United States, 1 April 1916, p. 78.

⁷ Mills, op cit.

⁸ “Dressing on a War Income,” *Vogue*, New York, New York, United States, 1 April 1918, p. 54.

⁹ Mills, op cit.

¹⁰ Margaret Young-Sánchez, ed., *Cartier in the 20th Century*, Vendome Press, New York, New York, United States, 2014, p. 113.

enameled in colours to represent a loved one's branch of the service, including dark blue for the Navy and red for the Army. While gemstones might be set in locket, the gemstones were "small and insignificant, being merely touches of colour to carry out the desired scheme, and not included either for their glitter or for their value."¹¹ Pearls were also permissible during the war years, according to *Vogue*, "because they do not glitter or shine."¹² Other styles included diamond rings worn for sentimental purposes rather than decorative ones, and bracelets bearing a *plaque d'identité* [identity disk] engraved with the name, rank, and unit of the loved one serving overseas.¹³ The new wartime mode for jewellery was thus marked by simplicity and sentimentality.

Sweetheart Jewellery

A distinctive genre of sentimental jewellery that emerged during the First World War was known as Sweetheart Jewellery. These special mementos, including pins, locket, pendants, medals, portrait miniatures, coins, charm bracelets, and military badges, were made or purchased by soldiers and then sent home to their wives, girlfriends, sisters, or mothers as a gesture of love and remembrance. Sweetheart jewellery often came in the form of hearts to evoke the bond between soldiers and their loved ones at home. Military emblems, including crossed rifles, swords, anchors, shields, and wings were also common motifs, as were flags and stars.¹⁴ "In-service" or "honour" pins, which consisted of a blue star on a white background surrounded by a narrow red border (Figure 3), were also worn by women at home to show that a loved one was serving in the military.¹⁵ Women who received sweetheart jewellery wore them with pride because the pieces acted as visible ways to display love, honour, and patriotism.

¹¹ Isabelle M. Archer, "New War Locket Hold First Place as Mementos," *The Jewelers' Circular*, The Jewelers' Circular Publishing Co., New York, New York, United States, Volume 74, Number 16, 23 May 1917, pp. 37-39.

¹² "Mourning as it is Worn," op cit., p. 162.

¹³ "Passed by the Censor," *Harper's Bazaar*, New York, New York, United States, July 1917, p. 46.

¹⁴ Nicholas D. Snider, *Antique Sweetheart Jewelry*, Schiffer Publishing, Atglen, Pennsylvania, United States, 1996, p. 77.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 47.



Figure 3:
In-Service Pin, circa 1917-1918,
© The National Foundation of Patriotism, Buford, Georgia, United States.

Inspiration from the trenches also influenced jewellery designs. Just as the First World War trench coat worn by Allied officers was eventually adopted as fashionable civilian wear, jewellery too took a cue from the trenches. “Trench art” originated during the First World War and refers to a wide variety of decorative items produced by soldiers. In addition to making ashtrays, matchbox holders, letter knives, and model planes (Figure 4), those who served in military workshops, as well as wounded, convalescent, and front-line soldiers, turned to jewellery-making to take their minds off the horrors of the war. Made from nonprecious materials found in the trenches such as bullet casings or scrap metal, these mementos were sent home to loved ones, sold for tobacco money, or simply exchanged locally for a home-cooked meal.



Figure 4:
Model Biplane, circa 1914-1917,
© The Imperial War Museum, London, England, EPH 8110.

Several members of the Codman family of Lincoln, Massachusetts were active in aiding French, Belgian, and later American soldiers, prisoners of war, and displaced persons, by writing letters, knitting clothes, and donating money and gifts to many war charities, including the American Fund for French Wounded.¹⁶ Examples of trench art collected by the Codman family include a belt buckle made of bullets, a ring set with an Imperial Russian Army uniform copper button, and a pendant moulded with a pair of swans flanking a round, bezel-set green glass stone (Figure 5). The pendant purchased by the Codman family was made on 15 November 1915 by French soldier Maurice Dumont¹⁷ of the 120th Infantry. Dumont had been injured in battle at Tahure in northeast France and was recuperating at the Grand Palais de Champs-Élysées, then serving as a military hospital, when he fabricated the following shield-shaped

¹⁶ See: Papers of Sarah Fletcher (Bradlee) Codman (1842-1922), Historic New England Library and Archives, Boston, Massachusetts, United States, 1850-1922, MS001.18. Correspondence Received by Alice "Ahla" Newbold Codman (1866-1923), Historic New England Library and Archives, Boston, Massachusetts, United States, 1882-1923, MS001.07.01.

¹⁷ Maurice Dumont's life dates are unknown.

pendant.¹⁸ Likewise, the beaded tassel necklace (Figure 6) was made by convalescent Private Walter John Cressey (1891–1972) of the Middlesex Regiment, as a form of occupational therapy, while recovering from blindness and the loss of four fingers at The Queen Alexandra Military Hospital in London.



Figure 5:
Necklace with Pendant,
Made by Maurice Dumont, 1915,
© Historic New England,
Haverhill, Massachusetts,
United States, 1969.1764.2.



Figure 6:
Necklace,
Walter John Cressey,
circa 1914–1918,
© The Imperial War Museum,
London, England, EPH 1390.

¹⁸ Necklace and Maker, 1915, Historic New England, Haverhill, Massachusetts, United States, <https://www.historicnewengland.org/explore/collections-access/gusn/100737>, Accessed 1 September 2018.

Handcrafted from the remnants of war, trench art provided women with a tangible connection to their loved ones overseas. During this time of uncertainty and devastation, women were desperate to connect with their husbands, boyfriends, fathers, and brothers. Wearing a brooch or a ring made on the battlefield was as close to the war, and to one's sweetheart and family, as most could come. But in addition to forming a physical bond between those separated by war, trench art brought beauty and hope into the lives of both military personnel and civilians alike. Jewellery, like other art objects, is appreciated for its beauty and its profound capacity to inspire. As curator and jewellery historian Yvonne Markowitz remarks, "The urge to create something lasting and meaningful, even under dire circumstances, is a universal, human endeavor."¹⁹ In the face of tragedy, men transformed such objects of hate, intimidation, and destruction as bullets and rifle casings into symbols of love, hope, beauty, and peace.

The Platinum Shortage

While some women wore in-service pins that showed they had a loved one in the service, or trench art to demonstrate their support for the war effort, others demonstrated loyalty through the materials with which they chose to adorn themselves. The outbreak of war spurred a nationwide shortage of platinum, which was needed as a catalysing agent in the production of explosives. Prior to the war, 90% of the U.S. supply came from Russia;²⁰ however, the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 curtailed this source for the Allies. Although the platinum supply available should have been sufficient for the needs of both government and industry, fears of potential shortages escalated. In March 1918, the War Industries Board issued a decree forbidding the manufacture of any articles of platinum that were inessential to the war effort. While this primarily targeted the jewellery industry, it did not restrict the sale of platinum that had already been made into jewellery. Jewellery dealers were therefore free to sell their stocks of "made up" platinum as well as any works in progress. Yet, misinformation regarding the scarcity of the metal was spread by the press and incited the public to believe that purchasing and wearing platinum jewellery was unpatriotic.²¹ The Women's National League for the Conservation of Platinum was formed in 1918 and thousands across the country signed their pledge that promised to "neither purchase nor accept as gifts jewellery and other articles made in

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 112.

²⁰ Penny Proddow and Debra Healy, *American Jewellery: Glamour and Tradition*, Rizzoli, New York, New York, United States, 1987, p. 75.

²¹ Ibid.

whole or in part of platinum.”²² Instead, women could show their patriotism by wearing alternatives as gold, silver, and lead.

Patriotic Jewellery: A Woman's Duty to Her Country

In September 1917, Isabelle M. Archer of *The Jewelers' Circular* reported, “There is only one colour-scheme now. The red, white, and blue of ‘Old Glory’ reigns supreme.”²³ Such patriotic jewellery had swept the nation and offered a new way to show pride in one's country; but unlike previous lustreless wartime styles, this new patriotic jewellery glittered with rubies, diamonds, and sapphires. *Vogue* described rings set with tricolour stones, gold pins enameled with the flags of the Allied forces, and a diamond bracelet monogrammed with the date 1917.²⁴ Everything from narrow, horizontal bar brooches and earrings to hair combs and watches yielded to this wave of patriotism. Even engagement rings, which were in high demand by women who rushed into marriage before their soldier-sweethearts went off to war, often included the patriotic elements, such as a relief of stars or tricolour stones.²⁵ For male jewellery, rings, scarf pins, cufflinks, watches, chains, and fobs were also available with military insignias or the colour combination of red, white, and blue.²⁶

Surviving examples include a Joseph Chaumet Red Cross medallion made of platinum, rubies, diamonds, and sapphires,²⁷ and a Cartier aeroplane charm of platinum and rose cut diamonds. Originally stamped with the date 1916, the latter was later modified to read 1918, the year that marked the end of the war.²⁸ According to *Women's Wear*, department stores and jewellers experienced an enormous demand from both men and women for patriotic jewellery, especially brooches with flag emblems.²⁹ An American flag brooch manufactured by Oscar Heyman and Brothers

²² Ibid.

²³ Isabelle M. Archer, “Patriotic Jewelry the Latest Fashion,” *The Jewelers' Circular*, The Jewelers' Circular Publishing Co., New York, New York, United States, Volume 75, Number 6, 5 September 1917, p. 73.

²⁴ “The Red, White, and Blue of Jewellery,” *Vogue*, New York, New York, United States, 1 November 1917, p. 72.

²⁵ “The Bride Has a Thousand Jewels; The Groom but One,” *Vogue*, New York, New York, United States, 1 May 1918, p. 113.

²⁶ Isabelle M. Archer, “Something About the New Patriotic Jewelry for Men,” *The Jewelers' Circular*, The Jewelers' Circular Publishing Co., New York, New York, United States, Volume 75, Number 14, 31 October 1917, p. 49.

²⁷ Price, op cit., p. 105.

²⁸ Ibid., pp. 104-105.

²⁹ “Jewelry,” *Women's Wear*, New York, New York, United States, Volume 14, Number 127, 1 June 1917, p. 17.

and retailed by Black, Starr, and Frost (both of New York City) in 1917 offers a particularly exquisite example (Figure 7). The flagpole consists of 25 diamonds and is topped with an impressive European cut diamond. The flag's stripes are composed of 125 rubies and 125 diamonds, and the 13 stars are studded with diamonds and set on a field of 36 sapphires. This brooch most likely included such expensive materials because it was designed as a special commission intended to be auctioned to raise funds for the war effort. Its value would have commanded a high price.



Figure 7:
Flag brooch, Black, Starr and Frost, 1917,
© The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Massachusetts, United States, 2004.2080,
Gift of Selina F. Little in Memory of Nina Fletcher Little.

Unlike chains of jet beads or small enameled honour pins, lavish patriotic jewellery like the Flag brooch, above, did not conform to the traditional ideals of wartime sartorial decorum. Such a resplendent display of adornment during a period of monumental death is much in keeping with the shift in social roles and ideals that

occurred during the war when women's roles transformed remarkably. Left to fill the vacant positions generated by so many men going off to war, women became munitions workers, telegraph operators, streetcar conductors, nurses, and even police officers.³⁰ A sweeping sense of patriotism and the desire to contribute to the war effort also prompted thousands of women in the United States to join organisations such as The American Red Cross (Figure 8).



Figure 8:
“(Red Cross) is You and I
with Every (Heart) and
(Dollar)” Pin, 1918,
Division of Medicine
and Science,
© The National Museum
of American History,
Smithsonian Institution,
Washington, DC,
United States,
2006.0098.0394.

The war effort also prompted American women to join organisations such as The United States Army Signal Corps. Adele Hoppock, a Signal Corps “Hello Girls,” was a switchboard operator (Figure 9). In her photograph, she wears a United States Army Signal Corps pin on her tam. For many women during the First World War, this was the first time in which they played active public roles outside of the home.

³⁰ Lucy Adlington, *Great War Fashion: Tales from the History Wardrobe*, The History Press, London, England, 2014, p. 185.



Figure 9:
Adele Hoppock, Signal Corps “Hello Girls,”
Photographer Unknown, circa 1917-1918,
© The National World War I Museum and Memorial,
Kansas City, Missouri, United States, 1997.36.1.

Meanwhile, the trend against wearing traditional mourning, which began in England, had spread to the United States. Even before 1914, the Victorian mourning practices had been changing. The recognised period of mourning was shortened and black crepe was now worn only for the closest of relatives.³¹ But the war, which resulted in the casualties of approximately 37 million military personnel and civilians worldwide,

³¹ “War Mourning in Europe and America,” *Vogue*, New York, New York, United States, 15 June 1918, p. 32.

spurred an even greater change in Europe and the United States.³² Previous efforts to show respect for each life lost began to have less meaning in the context of such mass bereavement. By 1917, *Women's Wear* reported that the majority of American women were disposed to wear less mourning apparel.³³ In fact, it was widely believed that to continue to wear mourning would generate more devastation. In June 1918, *Vogue* noted:

Already we are realizing that the death is such a glorious one that black seems inappropriate....Imagine what would [be] the effect on the mind and the spirits of the country, especially of the children, [if] every bereaved woman robed herself in black and paraded her sorrow in public. Such constant reminding of gloom must inevitably have an unfortunate result on any nation...Certainly it would...afford no stimulus to hope, courage, and fresh endeavour.³⁴

To wear mourning attire was now considered selfish and incompatible with a woman's duty to her country and the men who had laid down their lives. According to *Vogue*, "The man who in the performance of his highest duty gives his life in the service of his country is worthy of a higher tribute than the wearing of crape weeds."³⁵ Instead of surrendering to grief, women chose to embrace their newfound patriotic duty "as though the shadow of bereavement had not fallen upon their lives."³⁶ They filled the places left empty by the men who were gone, nursed the wounded back to health, and tried to cheer up the soldiers who were home on leave. As women seized the opportunity for greater independence during the war years, how they expressed bereavement held great significance. Dressing in one's everyday ensemble, despite facing immense grief, was a sign of patriotism and honour.

³² World War One: Casualty and Death Tables, The University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh, Wisconsin, United States
http://www.uwosh.edu/faculty_staff/henson/188/WWI_Casualties%20and%20Deaths%20%20PBS.html, Accessed 23 April 2019.

³³ "Mourning Apparel," *Women's Wear*, New York, New York, United States, Volume 15, Number 111, 12 November 1917, p. 7.

³⁴ "War Mourning," op cit., p. 33.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 32.

The Jewellery Trade: Keep Business Going

In April 1918, Emma Gary Wallace (circa 1876–1938) of *The Jewelers Circular* addressed an important issue to jewellers and the sartorially minded:

Is it patriotic to offer exquisitely decorated and tinted crystalware for sale when the nation is at war...? Oughtn't we to give up everything in the way of entertainments, personal decoration and superfluous furnishing and put our shoulders to the wheel and help Uncle Sam win the war?³⁷

Wallace then invalidates this argument by contending that the sale of Liberty Bonds and raising of revenues to support the war must come from prosperity, “and prosperous business cannot be maintained if everybody puts his money in the toe of an old stocking and ties it up.”³⁸ Adopting the slogan “Keep Business Going,” the jewellery industry urged Americans to spend in order to stimulate the economy.³⁹ One retailer even displayed a card in his shop window informing customers, “The government now receives three cents on every dollar’s worth of jewellery purchased. Therefore, when you help cheer up a dear one by giving a piece of jewellery, you also help your soldiers and the government.”⁴⁰

While jewellers advertised such economic incentives, *Vogue* emphasized its inspirational effect. One year before the Allied Forces achieved victory, *Vogue* sent out a patriotic appeal to American women, asking them to contribute to national morale by means of beauty and elegance. “The Importance of Being Jeweled” explained that despite the fear and sorrow permeating every American’s mind, it was each woman’s patriotic duty to keep “the tone of the world up.”⁴¹ Courage was her strongest asset and she was entrusted to maintain her own courage as well as inspire courage in the men overseas. This she would accomplish by dressing her best and

³⁷ Emma Gary Wallace, “Some Practical Pointers in Selling Crystalware,” *The Jewelers’ Circular*, The Jewelers’ Circular Publishing Co., New York, New York, United States, Volume 76, Number 10, 10 April 1918, p. 107.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ “Keep Business Going for Our Country’s Sake,” *The Jewelers’ Circular*, The Jewelers’ Circular Publishing Co., New York, New York, United States, Volume 74, Number 17, 30 May 1917, p. 110.

⁴⁰ “Spend and Be Patriotic,” *The Jewelers’ Circular*, The Jewelers’ Circular Publishing Co., New York, New York, United States, Volume 76, Number 16, 22 May 1918, p. 77.

⁴¹ “The Importance of Being Jeweled,” op cit.

“wearing her loveliest...jewels.”⁴² As visual expressions of success, wartime prosperity, and cheerfulness, jewels could promote optimism and help to encourage both civilians’ and soldiers’ commitment to victory. Echoing this sentiment, the fashion designer Faibisy⁴³ encouraged female consumers in a 1917 *Theatre Magazine* advertisement:

“Let us express the spirit of the flags waving on Fifth Avenue, the confidence of victory, the triumph of peace, not only in our secret hearts but in our outward personality, [to be] expressed in the manner of our raiment.”⁴⁴

To wear a beautiful piece of jewellery during this period of global devastation and uncertainty was thus to show one’s confidence in ultimate victory.

The Adolph De Meyer photographs accompanying the *Vogue* article depicted the newest Cartier jewels. Among them were a pair of exquisite, pear-shaped diamond drop earrings set in platinum, a collar of finely cut diamonds with a flexible diamond bow, a platinum and diamond tiara, and an emerald, pearl, and ruby pendant set in platinum prongs paved with diamonds and suspended from a chain of pearls that fastened with an emerald clasp.⁴⁵ Although extravagant, the idea was that these jewels were not worn to flaunt wealth, but to remind readers of prosperity and to induce cheer and hope.

The power of jewellery to inspire and hearten is evident in Nina Edwards’ account of Lynette Powell (1887-?), a nurse serving in Queen Alexandra’s Imperial Military Nursing Service who was posted to a hospital in Le Touquet, France. The account describes the presiding Duchess and her friends’ zeal to encourage the convalescents:

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ The designer’s life dates are unknown.

⁴⁴ “Faibisy Points Out New Fashions,” *Theatre Magazine*, University of Toronto Library, Toronto, Canada, Volume 26, Number 198, July 1917, p. 44.

⁴⁵ Ibid., pp. 55–56.

“It’s the least we can do to cheer up the men,” the Duchess always used to say...even if it were 9.00 in the morning [they] went upstairs and changed into full evening dress, with diamond tiaras and everything....They meant very well but it did look funny, these ladies all dressed up and the men, all muddy on the stretchers, looking at them as if they couldn’t believe their eyes.⁴⁶

The Duchess was not the only woman who refused to sacrifice fashion and beauty to the wartime gloom. Lady Duff Gordon (1863–1935), known for her covetable couture label, Lucile Ltd, used fashion to help fundraise for the war effort. In 1917 she designed a series of theatrical fashion vignettes to raise money for various war charities, which she complemented by appearing at public events. On one such occasion, Lucile wore “a jewelled silver cloth gown, [a] black velvet coat banded with fur and silver, great loops of pearls and a diamond crown.”⁴⁷ Author and historian Lindy Woodhead described other well-to-do women, who despite their work as war nurses, still maintained their glamour. Madame Henri de Rothschild (1895–1926) accessorised her nursing uniform with a collar of genuine pearls and Mrs. “Willie K” (Anne) Vanderbilt (1861–1940) adorned her white piqué nurse uniform—tailored at the House of Worth in Paris—with a huge gold and ruby cross made by the Parisian firm, Van Cleef and Arpels.⁴⁸ As nurses, these women regularly faced unimaginable horrors of death and disfigurement, yet continued to wear their lovely jewels to bring beauty, hope, and a sense of normality to the everyday horrors of war.

Democratising Patriotism: Jewellery across Classes

Although *Vogue’s* appeal may have targeted affluent individuals like Madame de Rothschild and Mrs. Vanderbilt who had the means to purchase the latest Cartier jewels, the war offered an opportunity for all women to wear jewellery. Women’s employment rates had increased dramatically during the war, from 23.6% of the working age population in 1914, to between 37.7% and 46.7% by 1918.⁴⁹ The resultant rise in women’s wages provided more spending power and a greater measure of autonomy to access fashion. Around this same time, costume jewellery emerged as an alternative to fine jewellery and thus made fashion even more accessible. Two firms of Providence, Rhode Island, Ostby and Barton as well as La Tausca, along with the

⁴⁶ Nina Edwards, *Dressed for War: Uniform, Civilian Clothing and Trappings, 1914 to 1918*, IB Tauris, London, England, 2014, p. 56.

⁴⁷ Adlington, op cit., p. 36.

⁴⁸ Lindy Woodhead, *War Paint: Elizabeth Arden and Helena Rubenstein, Their Lives, Their Times, Their Rivalry*, Virago, London, England, 2003, p. 107.

⁴⁹ Gail Braybon, *Women Workers in the First World War*, Routledge, Abingdon, England, 1989, p. 49.

New York firm of Henry W. Fishel and Sons, sold reproductions of precious gemstones, and also rhinestones, enamel set in sterling silver or 14-carat gold. The firms' advertisements emphasised affordability, yet the exceptional quality of these pieces encouraged women to purchase a variety of costume jewellery to harmonise with each clothing ensemble. The Winter 1917-1918 issue of the mail-order catalogue, *Bellas Hess*, advertised costume jewellery, including gold-filled lockets, crosses, and brooches for \$0.98. A sterling silver and enamel American flag pin cost only \$0.29. In today's economy, this pin would cost approximately \$5.00, thus demonstrating that even women of lesser means had access to the fashionable trend for such patriotic jewellery available at low prices. While enameled pieces were typically the most affordable, jewellery mounted with semi-precious stones offered reasonable mid-level prices. Lapis lazuli could be substituted for sapphires, carnelians could be used in place of rubies, and moonstones were a frugal alternative to diamonds.⁵⁰ Thus, the ornamental display of patriotism was not a delight for the wealthy alone; most women could participate.

Fashions of the First World War

With what clothing would these wartime ornaments have been worn? The war prompted a major change in the choices of dress, with women moving away from the sumptuous, often restrictive clothing of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries into more comfortable, practical clothes that were better suited to active, wartime jobs. Skirts became fuller, which allowed for greater movement, and became shorter, falling several inches above the ankles. Loose-fitting belts emphasised the natural waistline and military motifs, including sailor collars, braiding, and epaulets, were featured in women's daywear. Eveningwear followed this new silhouette, although dresses were more embellished with tiers of ruffles, embroidery, or beadwork. Yet simplicity dominated, which by contrast made the jewellery stand out more than ever.

For daywear, a woman might adorn a simple frock (Figure 10) with a cross, a locket, or a beaded necklace of dyed agate, amber, jade, or onyx.⁵¹ An in-service pin or an American flag brooch may have accented the collar or perhaps a hat, whereas a more substantial circle pin, filigree bar brooch, or portrait miniature might have been placed at her décolletage. Thin bracelets with each composed of a different coloured gemstone, including a tricolor option, were often worn together for afternoon wear,

⁵⁰ Archer, "Patriotic Jewelry the Latest Fashion," *op cit.*, p. 73.

⁵¹ If women who worked in factories chose to wear a necklace during the workday, then they wore close-fitting necklaces since long chains posed a safety hazard.

while wider bands with complicated designs were more suited for eveningwear.⁵² Diamonds were acceptable for daywear, but only in a pin or ring.⁵³



Figure 10:
Dress, circa 1910–1919,
© The Goldstein Museum of Design,
Falcon Heights, Minnesota, United States,
1983.025.007.

In 1917, *Vogue* recommended a string of pearls that fitted closely around the neck for morning attire, and a longer strand dropping three inches below the base of the throat for the afternoon. During the evening, readers were advised to wear a pearl collar with a diamond clasp (Figure 11).⁵⁴ Rings with large stones, including cabochon gemstones and imitations of them, lacy oval platinum filigree brooches paved with

⁵² Lillian Purdy Goldsborough, “The War Exerts Its Influence on Jewellery,” *Vogue*, New York, New York, United States, 1 June 1918, p. 64.

⁵³ “The Time, The Place, and The Gown Are the Things to be First Considered When One Chooses Jewels,” *Vogue*, New York, New York, United States, 1 February 1917, p. 63.

⁵⁴ “What Every Woman Should Have About Her Neck,” *Vogue*, New York, New York, United States, 1 November 1917, p. 168.

diamonds, and long drop earrings were also worn for eveningwear.⁵⁵ A diamond and emerald tiara or a velvet collar with a jewelled clasp might be worn to the opera and formal events, while a long tassel necklace would have been suitable for informal eveningwear.⁵⁶



Figure 11:
Valda Valkyrien
Wearing
Black, Starr and Frost Jewels,
Photographed by
Charlotte Fairchild,
October 1917,
Harper's Bazaar,
New York, New York,
United States, p. 80.

⁵⁵ Lillian Purdy Goldsborough, "Sparks from the Jeweler's Wheel," *Vogue*, New York, New York, United States, 1 August 1916, pp. 82, 84.

⁵⁶ "The Time, The Place, and The Gown Are The Things to be First Considered When One Chooses Jewels," op cit., p. 63.

"The Last Smart Touch," *Vogue*, New York, New York, United States, 1 March 1918, p. 65.

Patriotic Jewellery beyond the First World War

The First World War introduced patriotic jewellery on a scale that had never been seen before; however, the concept reached its peak in both quantity and quality during the Second World War.⁵⁷ With over 16 million Americans serving during the Second World War, compared to 4.7 million serving during the First World War, Americans were more interested in showing their patriotism than ever before.⁵⁸ Furthermore, as strict wartime rationing made clothing choices minimal, fashions became austere and jewellery became an essential part of a woman's wardrobe.⁵⁹ The influx of costume jewellery firms that flooded the market during the 1930s and 1940s catered to this demand, offering Americans inexhaustible options for patriotic adornment at accessible price points.⁶⁰ Red, white, and blue Bakelite bangles, enameled Liberty Torches, and rhinestone-studded Uncle Sam hats were favored. Like the jewellery produced during the First World War, the patriotic jewellery of the Second World War was made of both nonprecious and precious materials. Luxury retailers such as Tiffany & Co. of New York sold sentimental gold charm bracelets (Figure 12) and American flag brooches set with rubies, sapphires, and diamonds.⁶¹



Figure 12:
Charm Bracelet,
Tiffany & Co., 1944,
Tiffany & Co. Archives,
Parsipanny, New Jersey, United
States, A2002.28,
© Tiffany & Co. Archives.

⁵⁷ Susan Teichman, "A Celebration of Unity, Sweetheart Jewelry from the World War II Era," 3 July 2018, <https://www.cooperhewitt.org/2018/07/03/a-celebration-of-unity-sweetheart-jewelry-from-the-world-war-ii-era>, Accessed 20 March 2019.

⁵⁸ The United States Department of Veterans Affairs, "America's Wars," May 2017, https://www.va.gov/opa/publications/factsheets/fs_americas_wars.pdf, Accessed 22 March 2019.

⁵⁹ Teichman, op. cit.

⁶⁰ Roberto Brunalti and Carla Ginelli Brunalti, *American Costume Jewelry: Art & Industry, 1935-1950, N-Z*, Shiffer Publishing Limited, Atglen, Pennsylvania, United States, 2008, pp. 231-232.

⁶¹ Price, op cit., pp. 108, 117.

While the production of patriotic jewellery declined significantly after the Second World War, examples from the Korean War and the Vietnam War exist. The effect of the First World War on the jewellery industry can even be felt today, as patriotic jewellery continues to be worn. During times of celebration in the United States, such as Independence Day or a presidential inauguration, an American flag pin may adorn a lapel. Likewise, during and after embattled times, such as the terrorist attacks on 11 September 2001, patriotic jewellery has been worn to show unity, support, and strength.⁶²

Conclusion

During the First World War, American attitudes regarding jewellery-wearing transformed. Previous traditions of mourning that required women to wear severe black veils and limit the display of jewellery were cast aside in response to a staggering death toll which simply could not be atoned by mourning wear. Instead, American women chose to honour the men who laid down their lives, by serving their country in a meaningful way. Women filled manufacturing and agricultural positions, provided support as nurses and ambulance drivers, and used personal adornment to boost morale and inspire the nation's sense of patriotism. Jewellery not only helped women remember their loved ones overseas, but it also brought beauty and hope into the lives of soldiers and civilians alike, which aided in maintaining American commitment to victory. While some women wore extravagant jewellery studded with precious gemstones in the colours of the American flag, others displayed their support in the form of trench art or a simple enameled honour pin. Across the country, jewellers and consumers embraced jewellery as a symbol of patriotism and as a means to generate wartime prosperity. During the First World War, to be jewelled was to demonstrate loyalty, honour, and hope, a tradition that continues today.

⁶² Brunalti, *op cit.*, p. 231.

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Masking Reality: Prosthetics and Adaptable Clothing during the First World War

Lizanne Brown

Abstract

During the First World War, the extreme and immense numbers of soldiers' wounds and amputations forced physicians to develop new medical techniques and procedures. Sculptors, inventors, and artisans aided in developing the medical advances through creating new prosthetics and masks to help soldiers rehabilitate after their discharge. This article focuses on the development of artificial limbs and how injured soldiers adapted to accommodate them. Evidence from articles such as Jacques Boyer's "New Types of Artificial Arms for Victims of the War" and *The Times* "Better Artificial Limbs" are used to describe how the medical advances, prostheses, and adaptable clothing promoted the acceptance of disabled soldiers by the public as they returned to a "normal" life.

Introduction

The First World War (1914–1918) had a significant impact on the development of prosthetics for the disabled soldiers of the United States and Western Europe. With more advanced medical care and better field hospitals, greater numbers of veterans than ever before were surviving their wounds as physicians developed new techniques and procedures to save more lives. With many wounds and amputations affecting the face, arms, and legs, there was a great need to help these men rehabilitate after discharge by developing new prostheses and masks, which were created through the combined efforts of sculptors, inventors, and artisans. The desire to cover and/or “fix” bodily wounds served not only the soldiers’ need to be healed, made comfortable, and compensated for their bravery, but rebuilding damaged features was also important for soldiers’ psychological wellbeing and strong desire to reenter society and live as normally as possible.

Coverage in the mainstream press of the gory details of the injuries and grotesque harm suffered by disabled soldiers led to the development of a new attitude within society. Before the First World War, generations of veterans chose not to wear any type of prostheses and displayed empty sleeves and trouser legs, or wore eye patches as symbols of their “courage, heroism, and manly sacrifice.”¹ The First World War, however, brought a major shift in the social definition of the wounded war hero. No longer were missing limbs equated to heroism, but instead a beggar. The governments of Western Europe and the United States thus made it a priority to help veterans cope with the mental, psychological, and physical challenges of living with these “deformities,” to assist their return to civilian society as productive members of their communities.

A war hero was now a veteran who overcame his disability and returned to work as a primary breadwinner. Therefore, a pressure developed for the wounded soldier to cover his wounds, and at any cost to the wearer, for the sole purpose of disassociating injured heroes with mere beggars.² If men returned to work, then women could also return home, reverting societal expectations back to normal. Physicians started publishing articles that emphasised the importance of wearing prostheses. Physicians advised that a glass eye would deceive the public “by hiding a loathsome deformity,

¹ Katherine Ott, “The Sum of Its Parts: An Introduction to Modern Histories of Prosthetics,” in Katherin Ott, David Serlin, and Stephen Mihm, eds., *Artificial Parts, Practical Lives: Modern Histories of Prosthetics*, New York University Press, New York, New York, United States, 2002, p. 12.

² Ibid.

restoring personal appearance, and [be] the means of affecting a complete revolution in the worldly prospects of the wearer.”³ The New York Branch of the Veterans’ Bureau in Grand Central Palace was reported as being able to restore “mutilated faces to a semblance of normal” and thus allowing for the “sensitive man [to] go forth among [his] kind without a fear of awakening horror.”⁴ The wearing of prostheses provided a means for the general public to escape the remaining visual wounds, producing an effect that the soldiers were healed from any lasting impact of war. The governments of Germany, France, Great Britain, and the United States also rehabilitated and gave veterans a new sense of purpose by training them in new skills and providing artificial limbs.

Artificial Limbs

The British government decided to provide wounded soldiers with more than just monetary compensation for their service to the country. Along with a pension, an artificial limb was provided to soldiers who had lost a body part. The British Minister of Pensions stated that his primary goal with this compensation was that “restoration” was a means to help overcome “disability.”⁵ To achieve this goal, he pushed for a national experimental laboratory to develop artificial limbs that were “as near as possible to perfection.”⁶ The British Minister of Pensions called for the greatest skill and innovative ideas available to ensure the creation of advanced artificial limbs for those maimed in service, fighting the war.⁷ In America, activists worried that if the amputee veteran was not given enough financial help from the government that veterans would “prey on an onlooker’s charity and sympathy by displaying his missing limb, [or] accentuating his injury with a pinned up sleeve or a peg leg.”⁸ Veterans’ pinned up trouser legs evoked a psychological response from society (Figure 1). A visible wound evoked pity, but the hidden prosthetic equated to a hero brave enough to recover. Therefore, artificial limbs along with financial assistance were provided as compensation to veterans in Britain and the United States.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Royard Menges, “New York Veterans’ Bureau Now Is Solving Its Problems: Experience Cuts Red Tape of Early Years and Brings New Methods—How Thousands of Disabled Men Are Helped to Make a New Start in Life,” *The New York Times*, New York, New York, United States, 28 December 1924, p. 12.

⁵ “Better Artificial Limbs,” *The Times*, London, England, 14 September 1917, p. 3.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Beth Linker, *War’s Waste: Rehabilitation in World War I America*, The University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois, United States, 2011, p. 100.



Figure 1:

"A Few Lady Canteen Workers and Their Customers," *The Pavilion Blues*, December 1916, The Royal Pavilion as a Hospital for Limbless Soldiers, Brighton, England, © The Royal Pavilion and Museums, Brighton & Hove, England, p. 107.

In 1915, *The New York Times* reported that 50,000 soldiers were already maimed and the Allies sought American prostheses to help their soldiers since the French prostheses makers were "swamped."⁹ The Swiss Government had established a factory producing "1500 to 2000 wooden legs a week," but were still unable to cope with the demand.¹⁰ Altogether, England, France, and Russia did not have enough artificial limb makers to supply even 10% of the necessary limbs.¹¹ The lack of limbs

⁹ "War Causes Dearth of Artificial Limbs: 50,000 Soldiers are Maimed Already and Allies Seek Americans' Goods," *The New York Times*, New York, New York, United States, 27 June 1915, p. 3.

¹⁰ "Here for Artificial Limbs: Demand in France So Great Switzerland Cannot Meet It," *The New York Times*, New York, New York, United States, 22 October 1917, p. 11.

¹¹ "War Causes Dearth of Artificial Limbs...", op cit.

was a direct result of the manufacturers' equipment being overtaxed, but additionally their regular employees were often drafted into the military, which resulted in there being no prospect of an increase in product output.¹² The high demand and lack of supply thus created a market for American-made artificial limbs, which led to an increased collaboration between the Allies. This need created jobs but also promoted innovations in the artificial limb and medical field. Classified job advertisements in *The New York Times* sought "artificial limb makers at \$18 to \$25 per week, [of] 48 hours," with a constant need for new employees.¹³ High demand, the collaboration between physicians and artisans, and continuous trial and error generated a significant development of prostheses during the First World War.

Materials for artificial limbs that combined availability and comfort to the wearer were difficult to design. Wood and metal were easy to use for the construction of the limbs but were too heavy for extended wear. Celluloid was much lighter in weight, but eventually emitted a foul odour. The use of a leather socket provided flexibility and comfort, but eventually the wet leather would emit a nauseas smell from sweat.¹⁴ Above all, the improper fit of prostheses created infection, possible skin disorders, and/or would eventually destroy the function of the limb.¹⁵ Eventually, moulded plastics, Duralumin (a hard, light alloy of aluminium with copper and other elements), or some similar metal proved the best material for effective, lighter prostheses;¹⁶ however, governments tended to prefer cost efficient, quickly produced products over longevity and quality. Yet in England, significant progress that benefited wounded soldiers was made when the Advisory Council to The Ministry of Pensions and Colonel Sir Lisle Webb, Director-General of Medical Services, approved specifications for standard artificial limbs to be supplied to pensioners. All artificial legs of wood or leather would now comply with the new specifications, which standardised the mechanisms and metal component parts of the limb.¹⁷ Additionally, the limbs had to be fitted and assembled for each individual by a professional limb-maker. The Advisory Council to The Ministry of Pensions and the Director-General of Medical Services established a uniform standard of material and product for all veterans regardless of their financial standing, but allowed them to receive limbs that were fitted to their personal injuries.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ "Classified Ad 20," *The New York Times*, New York, New York, United States, 3 May 1918, p. 22.

¹⁴ Ott, op cit., p. 15.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 16.

¹⁷ "Standard Artificial Limbs," *The Times*, London, England, Wednesday, 28 July 1920, p. 18.



Figure 2:
Learning to Walk for
the Second Time,
Naples, Italy,
Published in
Douglas McMurtrie,
The Disabled Soldier,
The Macmillan
Company,
New York, New York,
United States,
1919, p. 114,
Courtesy of Open
Knowledge Commons,
U.S. National Library
of Medicine,
14031070R.

Unfortunately, even with new technological advancements, the prosthetic legs did not receive much development. The new artificial legs either mimicked the outdated models of the past or were simply updated versions of them. One example was the Beaufort artificial leg that was originally invented in Rome in 1851 to replace the old-fashioned “peg leg.” This artificial leg was still manufactured during the war because, to the manufacturer, the limb was “simple in construction, moderate in price, and

therefore satisfactory in use.”¹⁸ Charles W. Cathcart, author of a 1929 article in *The British Medical Journal*, described its design as being unlike the shape of the human leg. This reflected the older aesthetic view that the “artificial limbs are concealed, in any case, by the clothes of the wearer,”¹⁹ so the appearance did not matter. If the limb could simply be covered by clothing, why invest the time and finances to develop a highly functional prosthetic? This attitude also conveyed the notion that veterans were encouraged to mask their war injuries. The men relearning to walk in Figure 2 have their prosthetics out on view as they recover. Straight or wide-legged trousers pulled over the limbs would effectively cover the prosthetics, so the artificial legs became unnoticeable from being covered by the soldiers’ long loose trousers, as appears in Figure 3. This art of concealment reflects the attitude of the British and American governments that if you provide the wounded with a new limb, training, and a job, then all the horrors of war will be erased, and the men will revert to “normal.” But this attitude only provided a superficial fix to a deeper complex problem.



Figure 3:
British Soldiers Wearing Artificial Legs, circa 1915-1918,
Almost Certainly Photographed at
Queen Mary's Convalescent Auxiliary Hospital, Roehampton, London, England,
© 2016 The Image Works, Inc., ESSP0133705.

¹⁸ Charles W. Cathcart, “The Beaufort Artificial Limb with Recent Modifications,” *The British Medical Journal*, London, England, Volume 2, Number 3590, 26 October 1929, p. 754.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 755.

A shift from the concealment of prosthetic legs came with an improvement in the adaptability of artificial arms and hands for maimed soldiers. In 1916, Jacques Boyer explained the new types of artificial arms available for amputees. He stated that no longer were the artificial arms designed to “mask” missing limbs, but were now “ingenious mechanisms” that included “physiological considerations,” cunningly devised and “put together with art.”²⁰ The new artificial arms contained a large variety of movements that included a hand with a flexible wrist and fingers that could open, rotate, and grasp objects.²¹ Figure 4 displays an artificial arm mimicking the shape of an actual arm, down to the carved fingernails.



Figure 4:
Carnes Artificial Arm,
1915,
Leather and Metal,
Made by
Carnes Artificial Limb
Company
in Kansas City,
Missouri,
United States,
© The National
Museum of
American History,
Washington, DC,
United States,
1997.0119.30.

²⁰ Jacques Boyer, “New Types of Artificial Arms for Victims of the War,” *Scientific American*, New York, New York, United States, Volume 115, Issue 10, 2 September 1916, p. 207.

²¹ Ibid.

Depending on the necessary function, a wide range of artificial limb options were experimented with in British, German, French, and American rehabilitation centers and were made to facilitate the type of work that the veterans performed. Labourers were supplied with an arm that had a “thin steel bar terminating in a sort of crab-foot attachment,” but after work they could replace it with an “elegant ‘hand of parade’ for public exhibition on the streets.”²² Clerical and professional workers received elaborate hands of nickel and copper that had separate fingers with simulated fingernails.²³ These artificial limbs were thus innovative and designed to remove the stigma associated with the missing body part, but most importantly, the artificial limbs allowed for mobility that equipped veterans to return to the workforce.

Adaptable Clothing

Rehabilitation centers were also opened in Western Europe and the United States to facilitate healing and provide the training that enabled the soldiers to return to the workforce. Curative workshops taught them such skills as metalsmithing, typing, shoe repair, and tailoring to help “inspire the disabled soldier, [and] sparking his will to work.”²⁴ In Austria, amputee soldiers spent at least four weeks learning how to repair their own prosthetics by working in the artificial limbs department.²⁵ Teaching the men these basic skills not only provided them with options as to which profession they wished to follow, but also taught the necessary skills to adapt to life with a prosthetic. In addition to learning to live with the artificial limbs, they also relearned how to dress themselves, to pull on their trousers, and how to layer their clothing over and under the limb attachment straps.

The Pavilion Blues, a magazine produced by the patients at The Royal Pavilion as a Hospital for Limbless Soldiers in Brighton, England, described the helpfulness of the typical nurse to “pin a collar on for us, [and] to hide a dirty shirt, [and] she does a thousand things for which she doesn’t get a sou, like tying ties or laces, sewing buttons, pinning pins.”²⁶ Little nimble tasks become difficult for those who lacked two working hands, so they were taught tips and tricks for dressing that accelerated the rehabilitation process for them. A patient wrote that “stiff linen double-collars should have a tape loop sewn on each end to the part of the collar next the neck—of course

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Linker, op cit., p. 94.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 115.

²⁶ “Nurse,” *The Pavilion Blues*, The Royal Pavilion as a Hospital for Limbless Soldiers, Brighton, England, © The Royal Pavilion and Museums, Brighton & Hove, England, May 1917, p. 177.

inside the fold, if the tie is slipped through these loops no trouble will be experienced when buttoning the collar in front.”²⁷ While appearances were important, clothing functionality became the key priority for these men. As the ability to dress oneself significantly impacts one’s psychological wellbeing, these men also needed special clothing that allowed this freedom. Many visible alterations are seen through the adjustment of sleeve length. The German war veteran in Figure 5 utilised his artificial arm for his labour in a workshop. His coat sleeve is simply rolled up to remove unnecessary fabric that would inhibit his prosthetic or get caught in machinery.



Figure 5:
Maimed German at Work, Bain News Service, circa 1915–1918,
© Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division,
Washington, DC, United States, LC-DIG-ggbain-25350.

²⁷ G.F., “Items of Interest,” *The Pavilion Blues*, The Royal Pavilion as a Hospital for Limbless Soldiers, Brighton, England, © The Royal Pavilion and Museums, Brighton & Hove, England, September 1917, p. 55.

In Figure 6, the man's right sleeve is completely cut off at the bicep, which removes the extra fabric, allowing for uninhibited movement.

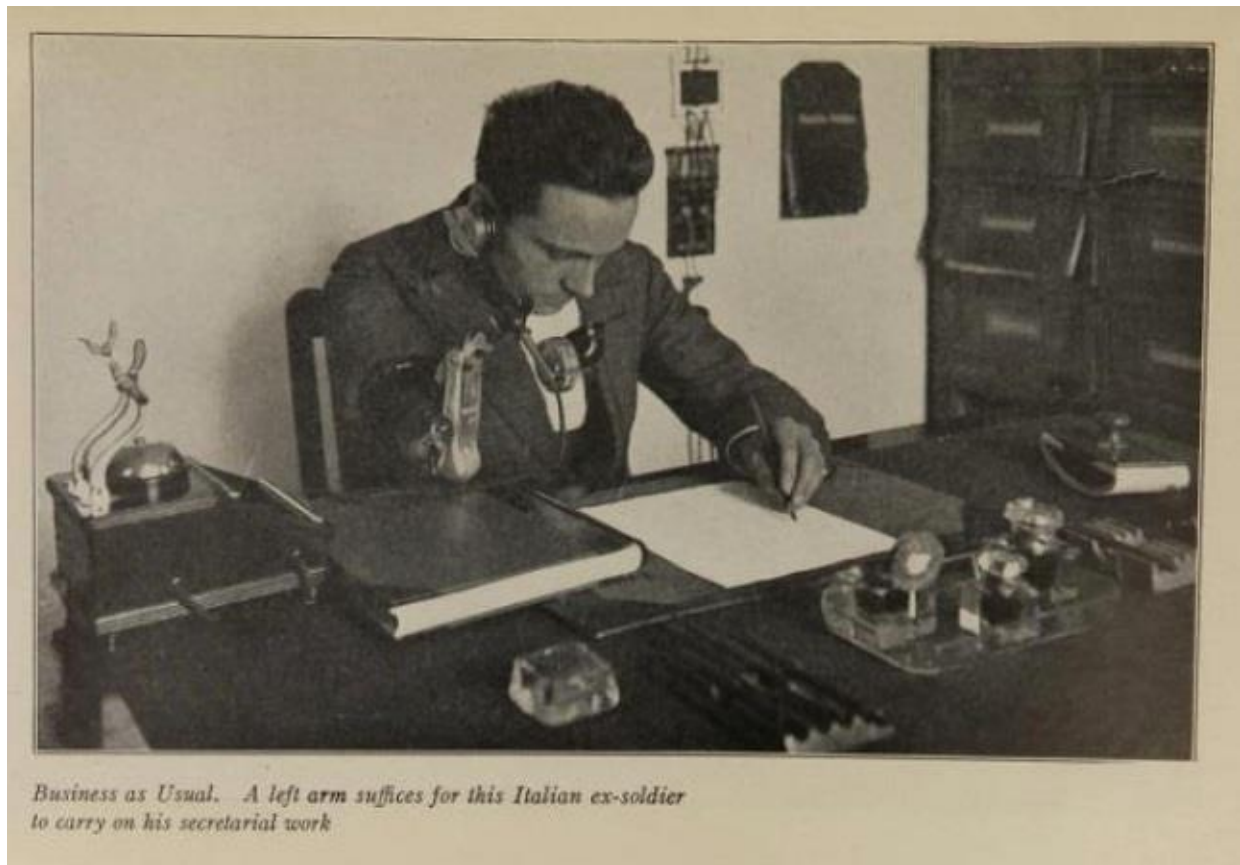


Figure 6:

“Business as Usual, A Left Arm Suffices for this Italian Ex-Soldier to Carry on His Secretarial Work,” Published in Douglas McMurtrie, *The Disabled Soldier*, The Macmillan Company, New York, New York, United States, 1919, p. 80, Courtesy of Open Knowledge Commons, U.S. National Library of Medicine, 14031070R.

Similarly, the man in Figure 7 has removed the dress shirt and jacket sleeve at the shoulder to eliminate the fabric that would only add extra weight to the artificial arm. This artificial limb appears as a part of his body; he displays its fit, ease of use, and overall practicality. Though all three figures display innovative prosthetics, the artificial arms appear challenging for the task of dressing oneself. Clothed in button-up shirts, trousers with zippers, and outerwear with button closures, the men appear to be professionals, but the basic daily tasks such as buttoning a shirt, pulling on a jacket, or zipping up trousers would be difficult without workable artificial fingers.

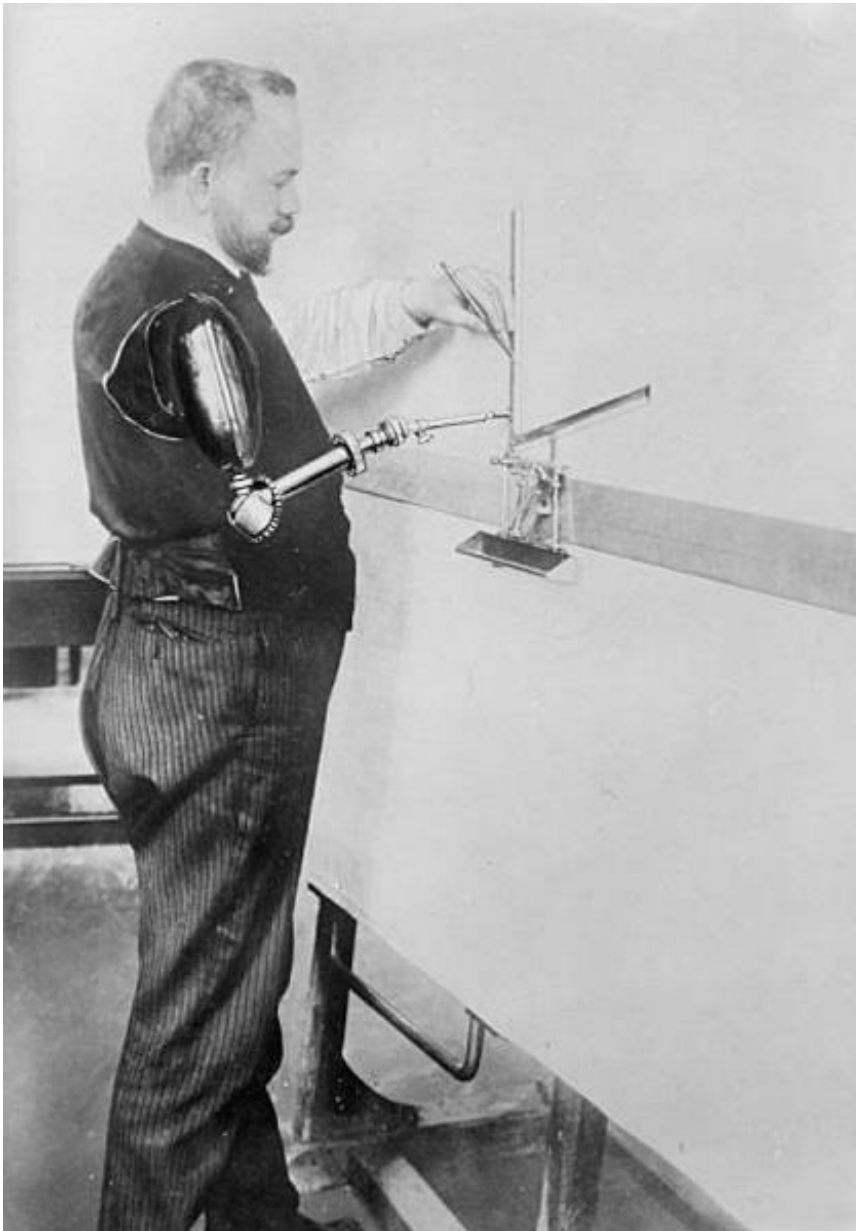


Figure 7:
Orthopedic Care of a
First World War
German Veteran
Working as a
Draughtsman,
Jacques Boyer, 1917,
Germany,
© Jacques
Boyer/Roger-Viollet,
39683-15.

Though the veterans, their families, and the nurses made adaptations to meet their needs, the availability of purchasable dress options was limited. The New York Branch of the Veterans' Bureau in Grand Central Palace had a shoe department "where men whose feet were injured in battle may be fitted specially and helped to walk in comfort."²⁸ The process of manufacturing these special shoes involved making a shoe last, a three-dimensional wooden mould upon which a shoe is constructed.

²⁸ Menges, op cit.

After the fitting, the veteran's name was inscribed on the shoe last, which gave him the right to receive new shoes for the rest of his life.²⁹ Yet, purchasable adaptable clothing for these disabled veterans, such as clothing without buttons and wider openings for prostheses to be easily put on, were simply unavailable. A patient at The Royal Pavilion as a Hospital for Limbless Soldiers in Brighton, wrote that "a substitute for the ordinary cuff-link is wanted—either one that will stretch, or one that may be unfastened with the teeth" to allow those missing an arm the opportunity to dress themselves.³⁰ The tasks of fastening cufflinks, buttoning up suits, and pulling on trousers were all challenges for veterans who wore artificial arms. But this dichotomy between utilising trousers to mask artificial legs and blatantly displaying the innovation of hand attachments, reflects the contrast of surrounding societal standards.

Facial Prosthetics

Facial prostheses were also developed for seriously damaged eyes that could not hold the ordinary artificial eye, as attempts to hide disfiguring wounds. The result was a new device for concealing the disfigurement and restoring to the victim the semblance of a normal appearance.³¹ French oculist, Henri Einius, developed an apparatus consisting of an artificial eye, an eyelid made of a plastic material, paraffin, or moulding paste that was colored to match the subject's complexion.³² The eye featured lashes made to "give it the fullest possible appearance of a natural eye."³³ A supporting framework featured fine metal wires attached to the wearer's eyeglasses or spectacles, so when "adjusted and the eyeglass is placed upon the nose, the artificial eye falls accurately into its cavity."³⁴ The creation of this new natural-looking eye allowed the disabled veteran to reenter society more easily, which aided his, and yet more importantly, society's healing process.

The ophthalmic surgeon to the General Hospital in Glasgow noted that the most perfect eye imitation was obtained when the deformity was covered by a prosthetic made wholly of glass which was mounted on a silver plate and soldered to a spectacle

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ G.F., op cit., p. 56.

³¹ "A New French Artificial Eye," *Scientific American*, New York, New York, United States, Volume 116, Issue 14, 7 April 1917, p. 353.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid.

frame.³⁵ He observed, “In suitable cases it is so realistic that it is only detected after attention is drawn to it.”³⁶ Since skilled glass artists were not always available, some prosthetics still made use of porcelain, celluloid, metal, and various gelatine based substances.³⁷ But when there was no possibility of the socket retaining an artificial eye, a carefully adjusted prosthetic would,

...hide the deformity so satisfactorily that the wounded man could move about among his fellows without attention being drawn to the loss of his eye. He avoids the annoyance of unnecessary commiseration, and is placed in a much more favourable position for obtaining employment.³⁸

Similarly, renowned French dentist and stomatologist, Alberic Pont (1870–1960), had a similar goal to allow soldiers to “go back to their previous occupations and to live a normal life.”³⁹ Pont founded a medical centre to treat major facial injuries during the First World War, and he specialised in the fabrication of maxillofacial prosthetics. More than 7000 injured soldiers were treated in his 800-bed facility. Pont perfected and invented new specialised devices, as well as adapting prosthetic and reconstructive techniques that were developed before 1914.⁴⁰ He accomplished this with his renowned plastic and aesthetic prosthetic devices that were intended to alleviate the nonrestorable loss of bone and soft tissues, but were also “designed to make the face aesthetically pleasing and acceptable in society.”⁴¹ Eye appearance evokes emotion and profoundly affects the reactions to it of both strangers and friends, which put social pressure on these soldiers to wear prosthetics to shield the public from the physical consequences of war.

But some cases were especially difficult, and sculptor Francis Derwent Wood (1871–1926) accepted patients whose cases were so severe that even advanced plastic surgical

³⁵ A. Maitland Ramsay, “An Oculo-Palpebral Prosthesis,” *The Lancet*, London, England, Volume 189, Issue 4889, 12 May 1917, p. 721.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Julie Mazaleigue-Labaste, “Between Care and Innovation: Alberic Pont and the *Gueules Cassees*: Medical and Surgical Innovations, or Not,” *Journal of War & Culture Studies*, London, England, Volume 10, Issue 1, February 2017, p. 38.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 33.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 38.

operations could not alleviate their disfigurements.⁴² Wood possessed skills that when combined with prosthetics, could return a man's face to as close as possible to his previous appearance and produce the same psychological effect as plastic surgery.⁴³ Wood wrote that with such prosthetics,

...the patient acquires his old self-respect, self-assurance, self-reliance, and...takes once more to a pride in his personal appearance. His presence is no longer a source of melancholy to himself nor of sadness to his relatives and friends.⁴⁴

Once the surgeon had discharged the patient as healed, Wood created a casting of the patient's face in Plaster of Paris, which was essential for a perfect edge-fit.⁴⁵ After the mould had dried, a positive model of the patient's healed wound was created and then a cast negative was produced. From this mould the destroyed features were reconstructed to resemble the patient's faceplanes and prior appearance.⁴⁶ An electrotype plate was then made of pure copper and the fitments for a glass eye with its attachments were put in place and covered with a thin layer of silver. Options for securing the plate to the face included strong spectacles, spirit-gum, or ribbons depending on the nature of the wounded area.⁴⁷ Everything depended on the efficiency of the attachments for the patient's comfort and that attention was not drawn to the wound. The plate was then pigmented to match the complexion of the patient, starting with a thin coating of cream-coloured spirit enamel as a matte base. But, "If the patient had an oily or shiny skin a semblance was easily obtained by varnish rubbed down to match."⁴⁸ Wood did not use false hair, but instead the eyebrows were painted on with eyelashes made of thin metallic foil that were soldered to the plate, and then trimmed with scissors and tinted to match. Plain glass eye-sections were added onto the concave section, or no glass was used and the eye was painted directly onto the metal mask.⁴⁹ While, the masks and prosthetics were reported as boosting the self-confidence of their wearers, the rigid mask did not allow them facial expression, and this immobility was its most serious drawback.⁵⁰ Even though these masks or eye prosthetics were artfully moulded to the contours of the body, a major

⁴² Francis Derwent Wood, "Masks for Facial Wounds," *The Lancet*, London, England, Volume 189, Issue 4895, 23 June 1917, p. 949.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 951.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ramsay, op cit., p. 722.

limitation was the unmoving, sculptural flatness which gave the wearer a doll-like appearance. Figure 8 shows the prosthetic nose and facial mask created by the American sculptor, Anna Coleman Ladd (1878–1939), the mask sculpted into an expression of flatness.



Figure 8:
French Soldier
with Facial Mask,
1918, © The
Library of
Congress Prints
and Photographs
Division
Washington, DC,
United States,
LC-USZ62-
137190.

The immobility of the facial prosthetic prevented the wearer from making emotional reactions to daily situations. While the prosthetic masked the deformity, the humanness of facial expression was absent and the power to convey inner character lost. This limitation, however, was overshadowed by the fact that the artificial covering presented a more positive reaction to viewers over surgical reconstruction of the face.

Conclusion

The developing, innovative prostheses significantly improved the lives and rehabilitation of wounded soldiers. Increased communication and the collaborations between artists and surgeons shaped these medical practices and rehabilitation by producing a variety of prosthetics to help provide a sense of normality for these wounded veterans. The goal for all was to regain their sense of wholeness and to display a corrected and, therefore, healed body. But just how beneficial, in a deeper sense, were these prosthetics to the wearers or the viewers? In her book, *War's Waste: Rehabilitation in World War I America*, Beth Linker sums up the focus of soldier rehabilitation as allowing “caregivers and society as a whole to engage in the illusion that the human ravages of war could be erased with a technological fix.”⁵¹ The societal shift towards concealment of war wounds drove these developments but also forced veterans to deal with the mental and physical implications of war on an accelerated timeframe. Governments of Western Europe and the United States supported wounded soldiers through training and by providing prosthetics for the purpose of their overcoming injuries to again become productive members of society. While the artificial limbs provided a means of hope through the concealment and masking of the reality of the war, the heart of the problem remained, and the lives of the veterans were forever changed.

⁵¹ Linker, op cit., p. 7.

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G.F., "Items of Interest," *The Pavilion Blues*, The Royal Pavilion as a Hospital for Limbless Soldiers, Brighton, England, © The Royal Pavilion and Museums, Brighton & Hove, England, September 1917, pp. 49–64.

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The Fashion Trade in First World War France

Clare Rose

Abstract

An analysis of French fashion magazines, such as *Les Éléances parisiennes*, *Le Style parisien*, and *Les Modes*, during the First World War shows how the French fashion industry mobilised government support to maintain their global position through trade tariffs, marketing initiatives, and branding. The analysis reveals the importance of fashion to the French economy, even in wartime. This paper also explores the relationship between stylistic trends and wartime restrictions: the slim straight lines of 1918 onwards were prompted by limits on the yardage allowed in garments; additionally, the fashion for soft silk and rayon jersey was partly due to the expense of producing heavy patterned silks.

Introduction and Methodology

During the First World War, the French fashion trade was faced with a series of unprecedented difficulties. There were shortages of raw materials and skilled labour, as civilian clothing factories were turned over to producing military uniforms. International trade routes were blocked by military or political barriers, with Belgian lace and German textile dyes both under enemy control. Perhaps most damaging was the disruption in fashion marketing, with international clients deterred from Paris by bombs and submarines.

This research project was carried out in real time, starting in August 2014. Each month, an issue of a French fashion periodical published 100 years earlier was analysed, and key findings and images were presented as blog posts on my website, www.clareroosehistory.com. This methodology made the task more manageable, and it also allowed me to investigate developments as they unfolded rather than working backwards from known outcomes. The periodicals were mostly selected from digitised publications available on gallica.bnf.fr, a service of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. As most of these were French language only, I also had to translate the text to provide quotations and background information.

There was no single French publication that covered the whole wartime period, 1914–1918. Paper shortages, economic difficulties, and the assignment of male fashion designers, artists, and writers to war duties meant that many fashion magazines either closed or suspended publication. My investigation started with the 1914 issues of *Les Modes: revue mensuelle illustrée des arts décoratifs appliqués à la femme* and *Vogue*, American edition, moving on to the two 1915 issues of the *Gazette du bon ton*. *Le Style parisien: revue mensuelle* provided issues for 1915–1916; this fashion magazine then merged with *Les Éléances parisiennes: publication officielle des industries françaises de la mode*. *Les Éléances* closed in December 1917, so during 1918 the only publications available were five issues of *Les Modes*, interspersed with copies of *Vogue*.

Moving between sources clarified the different approaches both to fashion and to fashion reporting within different French publications. It also highlighted the commercial rivalries between the United States and France, with the difficulties of French couture creating opportunities for American designers. *Les Modes* (Figure 1) stood apart from the other publications in being illustrated with photographs (some tinted in colour) rather than line drawings. *Vogue* used both.

Most of these images featured named individuals, society ladies, or stage stars, and there was a large element of society reportage in its pages. *Les Modes* was also unusual for its frank coverage of hairstyling and hairpieces which were discussed alongside

millinery.⁵² On the other hand, its selection of fashions was conservative, with no mention of Poiret's designs until April 1912, four years after the foundation of his couture house. The *Gazette du bon ton* represented a very different viewpoint, with extensive discussions of the most extreme designs by Poiret and Bakst, and intensely coloured pochoir (stencil) prints from drawings by artists who collaborated with Poiret including Georges Barbier and Paul Iribe.



Figure 1:
“Mlle. Yvonne de
Bray, habillée par
Paquin,”
Les Modes,
Paris, France,
© Bibliothèque
nationale de
France,
Paris, France,
Number 165,
Noel 1915.

⁵² “Les Postiches de Francois,” *Les Modes*, Paris, France, Number 174, Noel 1917, p. 12.

Le Style parisien set out its rationale in its first issue: to publicise the best products of French couture and French textile houses, and to undercut the pernicious influence of fashion magazines produced in Germany or Austria (Figure 2). It published letters of support from established design houses, including Paquin, Martial et Armand, Doueillet, Redfern, Beer, Worth, Premet, and Lanvin—but also stated that to preserve impartiality it would include no paid advertisements.



Figure 2:
 “Étoffes et garnitures nouvelles,” *Le Style parisien*, Paris, France,
 © Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France, September 1915, Plate XXV.

Not surprisingly, this model proved difficult to maintain under war conditions. After publishing eight issues, the editors announced that *Le Style parisien* was closing, with subscriptions transferred to *Les Éléances parisiennes*. As its subtitle indicates, *Les Éléances parisiennes* was the official organ of the “Delegation of the creative industries of fashion.” This was reflected in regular columns headed “Pour défendre nos industries” and “Nouvelles syndicales,” and with articles reporting on current trade initiatives. These were accompanied with detailed discussions of fashion trends illustrated by small images of designs from named couture houses, full-page fashion plates, and features with diagrams showing how to cut the latest styles. The contents would be of interest to large and small scale fashion manufacturers, informing them on topics such as trade tariffs and labour disputes. The monthly fashion column, “Les Nouvelles de la mode,” was addressed as if to consumers, but it is unclear whether consumers would have had access to it directly or only through dressmakers and fashion retailers. The contents of *Vogue* were more firmly oriented towards fashion consumers, with features on dressmaking, interior decoration, gardening, and society news. *Vogue* took an ambivalent stance towards Paris fashion, both promoting the creativity of French designers and encouraging readers to purchase American garments—or to make their own using *Vogue* dressmaking patterns.

Wartime Disruptions

The effects of war on Paris fashion were felt even as the 1914 collections were being presented. *Vogue* reported in October 1914 that Jacques and Jean Worth, Paul Poiret, Georges Doeuillet, and the heads of Premet and Drécoll were on active duty, and other couture houses including Beer and Béchoff-David had closed down.⁵³ Having initially enlisted as an infantry private, Poiret was soon transferred to military uniform production, where he developed a new cut of army greatcoat that was easier to manufacture, and could double as a blanket.⁵⁴ While the enlistment of named designers drew publicity, this was not the greatest threat to French fashion. During 1914–1915, the war zone extended to cover northeast France, including the areas where wool, cotton, and some lace textiles were produced. Business owners who attempted to re-establish themselves further south were hampered by the lack of premises, of equipment, and of trained workers. Prior to 1914 many highly skilled

⁵³ Anne Rittenhouse, “Couturiers under Arms: Today all Frenchmen Are Soldiers, and ‘Sous les drapeaux’ is the Legend Inscribed on Many a Couturier’s Door,” *Vogue*, New York, New York, United States, 15 October 1914, p. 44.

⁵⁴ “New Military Coat Wins Promotion for Paul Poiret: Garment Lacks Beauty, but is Utilitarian, so he’s Sergt. Poiret Now,” *The New York Sun*, New York, New York, United States, 22 October 1914, p. 4.

tasks in the garment industry were reserved for men; when male cutters, pressers, or hat blockers were called up for military duty, it was difficult to train replacements. There were also difficulties with the female workforce, who were restricted by family duties in their ability to move to a new work site; women were also tempted away by well-paid jobs opening up in nursing, public transport, administration, and munitions.⁵⁵ In 1914, couture workers had agreed to temporary wage reductions and working part time in order to allow businesses to remain open. The plight of garment workers, embodied in the fictional character “Mimi Pinson,” was dramatised in an operetta, *La Cocarde de Mimi Pinson*.⁵⁶ A lavish “Fête Parisienne” was staged in New York in November 1915, with a scenario by the fashion illustrator Roger Boutet de Monvel that presented Paris couture houses both as fashion leaders and as enterprises in need of American support.⁵⁷

As the French couture industry re-established itself, key male workers received pay rises, but women did not, even though the war had driven up the prices of fuel and basic foodstuffs.⁵⁸ In May 1917 these tensions culminated in a strike by Paris “midinettes” or seamstresses in the couture house of Jenny, spreading to involve 10,000 workers in 32 couture houses. The July issue of *Les Éléances parisiennes* reported an agreement covering both workers employed directly by couture houses, and those employed at day rates and piecework, offering improved rates of pay and a shorter work week.⁵⁹ The strike had a lasting effect on employer-worker relations in the garment industry, with trade union membership rising from 4000 in 1914 to 26,000 by 1919.⁶⁰

Following on from the strike of the “midinettes” came another threat to French couture: a luxury tax imposed by the government in order to fund the war effort. The objections raised to the tax were indicative of some of the tensions around attitudes to the fashion industry, as *Les Modes* pointed out:

⁵⁵ Margaret H. Darrow, *French Women and the First World War: War Stories of the Home Front*, Berg, Oxford, England, 2000, pp. 186–194.

⁵⁶ Patricia Tilburg, “Mimi Pinson Goes to War: Taste, Class and Gender in France, 1900–18,” *Gender & History*, Volume 23, Number 1, April 2011, p. 105.

⁵⁷ “La Fête parisienne à New-York,” *Le Style parisien*, Paris, France, November 1915, p. 126.

⁵⁸ Maude Bass-Krueger, “From the ‘union parfaite’ to the ‘union brisée’: the French Couture Industry and the Midinettes during the Great War,” *Costume*, London, England, Volume 47, Number 1, January 2013, p. 32.

⁵⁹ “Nouvelles syndicales,” *Les Éléances parisiennes*, Paris, France, July 1917, p. 247.

⁶⁰ Bass-Krueger, op cit., p. 41.

Suddenly luxury is being defined as unpatriotic, and they seem to want to chastise us for wanting, according to our means, to nourish luxury—that is, our taste for beauty and for comfort—and in doing so to support trade—that is the workers—and the State, through the duties it collects. So here are the luxury trades, which we formerly boasted of, suddenly penalised as malefactors!⁶¹

There were objections to the items covered by the tax, which included necessities such as the walking sticks used by amputees. But an even more fundamental issue was the uneven effect of the tax, since, “Items that are luxuries for a lower middle-class woman are not for a titled lady, whose income requires a higher level of expenditure.”⁶²

International Trade Rivalry and Paranoia

One of the key themes that emerges from these fashion magazines, and especially from the trade news in *Les Éléances parisiennes*, is the importance of maintaining the position of French fashion industry in the face of international rivalry. This was partly driven by economics. During 1913–1916, the export value of wool and cotton garments dropped from 138,915,000FF to 67,072,000FF; in 1915, the value of lingerie exported fell from 56,500,000FF to 24,000,000FF.⁶³ But there were also anxieties over reputational damage, if international consumers stopped associating Paris with all that was freshest and most elegant in fashion. It is this, as much as the financial losses, that motivated denunciations of magazines, or garments, claiming to represent “Paris fashion” but actually produced in Vienna or Berlin.⁶⁴

⁶¹ Tout d’un coup on le traite comme un mauvais citoyen, on semble nous mettre en pénitence parce que nous voulons, dans la mesure de nos moyens, alimenter à la fois le luxe, c’est-à-dire, nos goûts de beauté ou de confort, le commerce, c’est-à-dire, les travailleurs—et l’État lui-même, par les impôts? Voici donc ce luxe que l’on vantait naguère, qualifié tout d’un coup comme un malfaiteur! “La mode et les modes,” *Les Modes*, Paris, France, Number 176, 1918, p. 12.

⁶² Ce qui est le luxe pour la petite bourgeoise ne l’est pas pour une grande dame à qui ses revenus imposent des dépenses proportionnées. Pour la femme de condition modeste, l’achat sera ‘objet de luxe’ et paiera la taxe, pour la femme riche le même objet représentera, au contraire une économie: il lui sera cependant taxé comme ‘de luxe’ puisque le prix est le même: La répartition est-elle égale entre les deux acheteuses?

Ibid.

⁶³ *Les Éléances parisiennes*, Paris, France, June 1916, p. 40.

⁶⁴ “Pour défendre nos industries,” *Les Éléances parisiennes*, Paris, France, July 1916, p. 54.

In actuality, the purification of French industry from enemy influences was harder to achieve, since many of the products used in French garments, from textile dyes to dressmaking trimmings, were imported. In 1916, there was a proposal by a consortium of French manufacturers to mark luxury goods produced from French materials with a new label, “Unis-France” but this does not seem to have been very effective.⁶⁵ New legal constraints on export from France to enemy countries were also problematic, since merchants in neutral Switzerland, were selling on samples or copies to clients in Germany and Austria.⁶⁶ Even more complex than the control on the movement of goods were attempted controls on individuals defined as “enemy agents.”

In July 1916, *Les Éléances parisiennes* reported that “Austro-German” furriers had been undermining French businesses by refusing to work on French-cured pelts, claiming that the pelts were substandard. Fortunately, many of these “saboteurs” had now been interned, although others were protected by recent naturalisation.⁶⁷ The prevailing suspicion of individuals with any links to Germany or Austria reached the height of French couture in 1916, when the House of Drecol, based in Paris since 1902 and registered in London since 1908, was expelled from the *Chambre syndicale de la couture française*. This lengthy association with Allied countries was overturned on the grounds that although the Director, M. Wagner, was Swiss, the House had been founded in Vienna, and one of Wagner’s backers in 1902 was German, and the other was a French Jew. A legal process that overlooked fourteen years of participation in French couture on the grounds of ethnic purity had gone beyond justifiable self-defence to paranoia.⁶⁸

Fashion Trends, 1914–1918

The month-by-month analysis of fashion periodicals highlighted the variety and range of styles on offer at any one time, complicating any simplistic narrative of simplification of cut under war conditions. While the long narrow skirts of 1914 were superseded by shorter and fuller styles that allowed more freedom of movement, these might be accompanied by sheer silk stockings and embroidered or jewelled sandals that were completely impractical for walking. Moreover, full-skirted dresses were often styled as “war crinolines” with details such as flounces, pelerine collars, and dropped shoulders that looked back to the early nineteenth century.

⁶⁵ Ibid., May 1916, p. 22.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ “Quelques industriels et la guerre,” *Les Éléances parisiennes*, Paris, France, July 1916, p. 53.

⁶⁸ *Les Éléances parisiennes*, Paris, France, September 1916, p. 88.

In 1917, the fashionable line became narrower, with straight or *tonneau* [barrel] skirts, but not necessarily simpler. The narrow silhouette was enlivened by floating draperies, collars that became scarves, sashes that slotted over and under the panels of the skirt, and asymmetrical apron effects in complex cuts that would be difficult to replicate (Figure 3).



Figure 3:

“La Grande variété des blouses,” *Les Éléances parisiennes*,
© Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France, July 1917, Plate VI.

This complexity was often highlighted by the use of contrasting colours or textures in the fabric. On the other hand, there were some featured designs so radical in their simplicity that it would be easy to date them ten years later (Figure 4).



Figure 4:
“Robe de velours
noir avec patureaux
de velours bleu,
Beer,” *Les Éléances
parisiennes*,
© Bibliothèque
nationale de France,
Paris, France,
November 1916,
Plate 122.

There were also trends in fabric use, with heavy patterned silks giving way to plain woven or knitted fabrics trimmed with braid or embroidery. The use of jersey for tailored suits and even dresses was noted by *Vogue* in May 1915, “Chanel, in her Monte Carlo shop, is showing jersey coats of white, mulberry, red and various shades of blue, including the new bleu soldat. They are buttoned down the middle front, and they are loosely belted, quite long, and slashed to the belt on each hip.”⁶⁹ Chanel’s jersey ensembles gained the designer her first full page illustration in *Les Élegances parisiennes* in May 1916 (Figure 5).



Figure 5:

“Robes de jersey, modèles de Gabrielle Chanel [sic],”

Les Éléances parisiennes, Paris, France,

© Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France, May 1916, Plate III.

⁶⁹ *Vogue*, New York, New York, United States, 1 May 1915, p. 126.

While this innovation has been specifically associated with Coco Chanel, it is clear that she was not the only designer using knitted fabrics made from wool or silk. The adoption of jersey was a response both to consumer needs for comfortable clothing and to the increased costs of clothing production in wartime, since stretch fabrics needed less rigorous tailoring. Jersey made from artificial silk in bright colours was being recommended in 1917 for its shine and weight.⁷⁰ By 1918 the shortage of wool (requisitioned for army uniforms) led to the promotion of “shoddy” made from recycled wool fibres as a fashion fabric.⁷¹

The prevailing restraint in textiles threw into relief the evening dresses in rich metallic brocade, or draped with layers of fine lace, featured from time to time in these magazines. These were not intended for France, but for Brazil or Argentina which were becoming increasingly important markets for French couture, with a 500% increase in the value of silk garments exported to Brazil during 1913–1916.⁷² New export markets were particularly important to replace the fall in sales to the United States, with private couture clients deterred from trans-Atlantic travel after the sinking of RMS *Lusitania* on 7 May 1915. However, there were tensions in dealing with consumers whose tastes were not aligned with French chic, as reported in *Les Éléances parisiennes* in July 1916:

You shouldn't add a garland of gold roses to this dress because Mr X from Chile has asked you to do so. You will keep the delicate lace on the other dress rather than the heavy guipure that Mr Z wants because it looks richer. You will say to the visitors who flock to the opening of your collection: Sirs, you have crossed the oceans to see French Fashion; here it is. Don't ask it to become Chilean, Hindu, or Japanese to suit you.⁷³

⁷⁰ *Les Éléances parisiennes*, Paris, France, July 1917, p. 235.

⁷¹ “What war has done to clothes,” *Vogue*, New York, New York, United States, 15 October 1918, p. 63.

⁷² “Nouvelles syndicales,” *Les Éléances parisiennes*, Paris, France, November 1917, p. 288.

⁷³ Vous n'ajoutez pas une guirlande de roses d'or à tel modèle parce que M. X., de Valparaiso, vous en fait la demande. Vous maintenez sur l'autre robe cette dentelle impondérable au lieu de l'épaisse guipure que M. Z. trouve d'un effet plus somptueux. Vous dites aux visiteurs qui se pressent à l'ouverture de votre collection: Messieurs, vous avez traversé les mers pour voir la Mode Française; la voilà, ne lui demandez pas de devenir chilienne, hindoue, japonaise à votre gré.

“Ayons la foi,” *Les Éléances parisiennes*, Paris, France, July 1916, p. 55.

Exports of ready-to-wear garments and of models for copying were also affected by the war, and particularly by wartime restrictions on fabric use. After the United States entered the war on 6 April 1917, the American government imposed restrictions on the use of wool for civilian clothing in order to maintain supplies for army uniforms, with a maximum of 4.5 metres of wool permitted per outfit. This limit was then applied to imported garments in order to prevent unfair competition. French fashion houses complied, reducing skirt hem circumference to as little as 1.2 meters, and total yardage by as much as 20%.⁷⁴ Leather was also in short supply, as it was needed for army boots. Some designers responded by making shoes with fabric uppers, “Jenny cleverly launched this style in her salon and encourages her clients to wear no other. As satin moulds itself deliciously round the foot, and covers the ankle like a glove, this is a wartime sacrifice that we are happy to make.”⁷⁵ A less elegant but more practical substitute for leather in shoes was wood for soles. In spite of the negative connotations of wooden shoes with rural poverty, these were well received: at the Paris trade fair in 1917, the only firm showing them took orders worth 75,000FF.⁷⁶ Wood, alongside synthetics like “galalith” (also known as “erinoid”) was also used for beads and accessories as a substitute for precious materials.⁷⁷ There was also a suggestion that wooden accessories could function as good luck charms by “touching wood.”⁷⁸

Wartime Lives

The promotion of the fashion trade and of fashion consumption at a time when France was fighting an invasion could be seen as frivolous or even unpatriotic. Some fashion magazines addressed this topic directly, as in the “Lettre d’une Parisienne” published in the September 1915 edition of *Le Style parisien*:

⁷⁴ “Nouvelles syndicales,” *Les Éléances Parisiennes*, Paris, France, November 1917, p. 288.

⁷⁵ Mme Jenny en a crânement lance le modèle dans ses salons des Champs-Élysées, et invite ses clients à ne point se chausser autrement. Et comme le satin moule délicieusement le pied et gante non moins délicieusement la cheville, voilà un petit sacrifice que nous ne manquerons pas de nous imposer volontiers.

“Les nouvelles de la mode,” *Les Éléances parisiennes*, Paris, France, December 1917, p. 304.

⁷⁶ “La foire de Paris,” *Les Éléances parisiennes*, Paris, France, July 1917, p. 245.

⁷⁷ “Les dernières créations de la mode,” *Les Éléances parisiennes*, Paris, France, November 1917, p. 289.

⁷⁸ “Nouvelles de la mode,” *Les Éléances parisiennes*, Paris, France, December 1916, p. 135.

I don't know how to tell you, dear friend, how the life which I am leading for your pleasure, at this time, seems like a strange anachronism. What—cannons are thundering less than 100km from Paris, the enemy is not yet out of France, and one period of mourning follows another...But here I am, for the last fortnight and more, running around between fashion houses and couturiers in order to reply to all your questions as well as possible.⁷⁹

The argument for fashion in wartime took several forms. Firstly, there was the need to keep up morale, and to reassure officers on leave that the war had not destroyed the finer things in life. Secondly, there was the need to provide employment for the female fashion workers who were suffering from rises in the cost of living. Overriding this, there was the inestimable value of fashion in establishing French cultural supremacy and in attracting international visitors to Paris.

There was a fall in demand for couture fashion, as elite women simplified their wardrobes for voluntary work in canteens and hospitals, and entertainments were scaled back from elaborate dinner parties to simple lunches and teas. In the early years of the war, Paris theatres and concert halls were closed, only re-opening for patriotic spectacles and concerts in aid of war charities. The exodus of couture clients from Paris to seaside resorts at Deauville and Biarritz also affected fashion consumption, since dress codes had typically been more relaxed at resorts. Some established couture houses followed their clients to the seaside, setting up branches there, while new designers like Chanel used resort wear to build their reputation.⁸⁰ Starting as a milliner in Paris in 1910, Chanel's first mentions as a clothing designer were for informal jersey suits sold from her shops in Deauville (1913) and Biarritz (1914): "One sees modest tailored frocks of more or less familiar shape, muslin gowns under fur-trimmed coats of jersey, and smart suits of jersey combined with cloth or silk; and each one, to the knowing eye, is labelled large, 'Chanel'."⁸¹ The renewed emphasis on informal daytime wear led to some innovations in day-to-evening

⁷⁹ Je ne saurais vous dire, ma chère amie, combien la vie que je mène pour votre bon plaisir, en ce moment, me semble un étrange anachronisme. Quoi? Les canons tonnent à moins de 100 kilomètres de Paris, l'ennemi n'est pas encore hors de France, les deuils se succèdent...et me voilà depuis plus d'une quinzaine, courant les grandes maisons de modes, puis de couture, pour répondre à toutes vos questions du mieux possible.

"Francine, Lettre d'une Parisienne," *Le Style parisien*, Paris, France, 15 September 1915, p. 31.

⁸⁰ Lanvin, founded in Paris in 1885, had branches in Biarritz and Deauville by 1918; *Les Modes*, Paris, France, Issue 177, 1918, p. 15. Chanel is first mentioned in *Les Modes* as a milliner in Issue 139, July 1912, p. 10.

⁸¹ "A sadder and a wiser Monte Carlo," *Vogue*, New York, New York, United States, March 1916, p. 152.

ensembles, such as one by Beer featured in *Le Style parisien*, 15 September 1915: a tailored skirt and jacket, worn over a silk chiffon tunic for luncheons which in turn could be removed to reveal a pinafore bodice with a tulle blouse to provide three different looks (Figure 6). There was also a persistent trend for accessories like sashes and waistcoats made from small amounts of fabric to brighten up a tailored suit.



Figure 6:

“Trois transformations du même ensemble de Beer,” *Le Style parisien*,
© Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France, August 1915, p. 12.

While corsets were still seen as essential support garments, even for women on active duty, the war did lead to some simplification of fashionable undergarments. This was partly a response to the difficulty of obtaining the high-quality linen and lace that had been used to construct pre-war chemises, drawers, camisoles, and petticoats. These had been specialties of northeast France, and of Belgium, both areas badly affected by the war. Additionally, the new dresses that flowed over the body required slim-line under layers. But there also seems to have been a shift in attitudes to bodily exposure, at least among the fashionable elite. By 1917, fashionable women’s drawers, previously full and knee-length, had been abbreviated so that they resembled a baby’s nappy pants, allowing the leg to be glimpsed under summer dresses. *Les Éléances parisiennes* accepted these, and sets of underwear in black silk, but drew the line at

diaphanous chemises made from bright blue or black tulle that were “impossible for respectable women to wear.”⁸²

Perhaps the biggest change in dress codes was in those affecting mourning, which had previously involved several months in black garments covered in silk crepe, with a black veil for outdoor wear, followed by a further period in matte black with white trimming, carefully calibrated to the degree of relationship and the age of the wearer. As the death toll mounted, the observation of mourning in dress and in social seclusion was gradually eroded, with silk and cashmere replacing crepe, and veiled hats the widow's veil. This was encouraged by fashion publications, which feared that strict adherence to mourning dress would harm the fashion trades and especially millinery.⁸³ *Vogue* reported on changing practices in its June 1918 issue, reminding its American readers that “had Englishwomen put on the conventional garb of mourning, every town, every village in the country would seem part of one great funeral; the whole atmosphere would be one of gloom and grief.” Instead, bereaved women were paying tribute to the dead by “filling the places of the men who are gone, some temporarily, some forever; to making life cheerful for boys home on leave; and to nursing the wounded back to health”⁸⁴

Bombardment of Paris, Spring 1918

In Spring 1918, a new phase of the war began: the bombardment of Paris from the front with long-range cannons. This was reported in fashion magazines such as *Les Modes* in terms that reveal both the profound changes to French society during the war, and new opportunities for entrepreneurs. Aerial attacks had started in 1914 with bomber raids, followed in 1915 by Zeppelin airships and then by more substantial Gotha aircraft. At first these were treated as a novelty, with Parisians going up to Montmartre for a better view of the action, or taking pot-shots at the enemy from the rooftops. As the war continued, civil defence systems such as air raid warnings and cellar shelters were established, but sometimes ignored. The German development of long-range cannon capable of attacking Paris from the front line 100km away, dropping bombs without any warning, seems to have shaken civilian morale: during March–April 1918 up to 15% of Parisians fled to the countryside.⁸⁵ For those who

⁸² “Les dessous élégants,” *Les Éléances parisiennes*, Paris, France, December 1917, p. 304.

⁸³ “Pour défendre nos industries—un chapitre sur les chapeaux,” *Les Éléances parisiennes*, Paris, France, December 1916, p. 34.

⁸⁴ “Whether American Women Will Abolish Mourning During the War, as Many Englishwomen Have, or, Like the Frenchwomen Wear a Lighter Mourning than Formerly, Is Still a Question,” *Vogue*, New York, New York, United States, 15 June 1918, p. 33.

⁸⁵ “Les Parisiennes sous les bombardements en 1918,” *Les Modes*, Paris, France, Number 177, 1918, p. 2.

remained, air raid shelters in the cellars of apartment blocks became not only a necessity but a new opportunity for fashionable consumption, with Paul Poiret's Maison Martine offering a cellar decorating service (Figure 7):

Why, my dear, our cellar isn't the horrible little hole that I always thought it was! It's a darling little cellar...the building is modern, there's electric lighting in all the corridors, and there's enough space for me to have a little two-room flatlet. I've furnished it so that it looks charming, with a couple of rugs, easy chairs, a chaise-longue, and a table—it's lovely, I assure you!⁸⁶

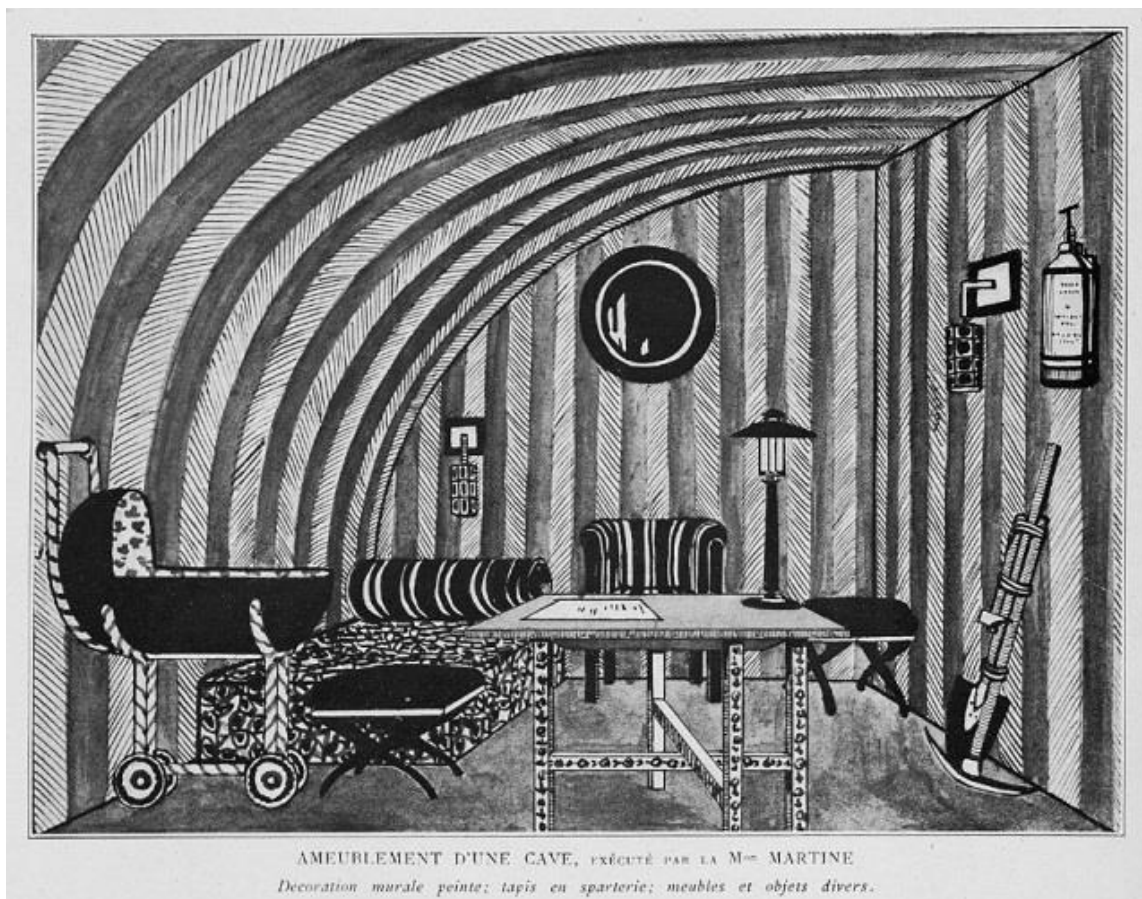


Figure 7:

“Ameublement d'une cave, executée par la Maison Martine,” *Les Modes*,
© Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France, Number 177, 1918, p. 2.

⁸⁶ Mais oui, ma chère, figurez-vous que notre cave, à nous, n'est pas du tout l'affreux petit réduit que j'avais toujours imaginé! C'est un amour de cave...La maison est moderne...Alors, n'est-ce pas, il y a l'électricité dans les couloirs...J'ai là deux pièces, un petit appartement...Et alors, vous pensez, c'est charmant!...J'ai fait mettre deux ou trois tapis, des sièges confortables, une chaise-longue, une table...Je vous assure que c'est tout à fait bien.
Ibid., p. 3.

Night-time raids brought another problem, that of how to present oneself in front of neighbours sharing the cellar shelter. *Les Modes* was remarkably frank in its acknowledgement that:

There are few women lucky enough to have fine golden locks that fall naturally to frame a naturally pink complexion. Most heads of hair, and most complexions, are not seen at their best in such circumstances. Once their natural bloom has faded, it takes time to get it back...Also, you need to get dressed, and dressed warmly...A thick dressing-gown...that would do in front of your husband! But down below there are other women; nothing escapes their sharp eyes, which sum you up from head to toe—and after the all-clear sounds, their even sharper tongues.⁸⁷

Help was at hand, with a new garment called the “cellar cape,” invented by Marthe Gauthier. The cape featured a loose body and wide sleeves for ease of dressing, combined with sleeves and hemline carefully considered to show off the wearer’s dainty wrists and ankles. Best of all, it had a close-fitting hood that covered the neck and hair, framing the face with a flattering white edging (Figure 8).⁸⁸

⁸⁷ Rares sont les fins cheveux d’or qui se mettent, tout naturellement, à encadrer les roses d’un beau teint. Les cheveux ni le teint ne s’accommodent toujours de ces surprises et, quand on a chassé leur naturel, quoique puisse prétendre un vers célèbre, il ne revient pas toujours au galop...Puis, il faut se vêtir, se vêtir chaudement...Un gros peignoir, hum! ...C’est bon pour un mari! ...Mais, en bas, il y a les autres femmes,—leur premier regard, de la tête aux pieds, à qui rien n’échappe, et, l’alerte passée, leur mauvaise langue...à qui tout échappe.

Ibid., pp. 4–5.

⁸⁸ Marthe Gauthier was mentioned in 1919 in “Paris Dines and Dances and Awaits the Openings,” *Vogue*, New York, New York, United States, 15 March 1919, p. 39, but it is unclear if her business continued thereafter.



Figure 8:
“Mlle Napierkowska vêtue d’une ‘cape pour la cave’ de Marthe Gauthier,”
Les Modes, © Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, France,
Number 177, 1918, p. 3.

Conclusion

By Autumn 1918, the invading army was being driven back, and the Paris couture openings reflected a note of optimism, as *Vogue* noted in an article, titled, “Paris Openings are Keyed to Victory.”⁸⁹ *Vogue* also noted an increased interest in business-like clothes for fashion conscious women engaged in voluntary work:

Probably for the first time in the history of dress the talented designers are giving their attention to the creating of women’s working clothes. Heretofore the woman who took part in any occupation dressed in imitation of her less industrious sister of leisure, and her clothes were seldom designed primarily for her occupation. Today all women work. This means that many women who have been accustomed to dress the part they play with the utmost attention to appropriateness, charm, and chic, are now striving to dress the part of the woman who works.⁹⁰

Some French fashion magazines that had ceased publication during the war resumed in late 1918. The Noel 1918 cover of *Les Modes* featured an image of the Louvre sculpture, Winged Victory of Samothrace, and the issue reflected on changes in attitudes to fashion in the intervening years. It is surprisingly frank in its characterisation of pre-war society women as “dolls” and “shop dummies,” and in its advocacy of a greater role for women in public life:

Of course, our admirable Frenchwomen would like to return to their previous elegance, they would like to re-affirm their rule over the realms of taste where no-one will ever dare to challenge them; but this will not be to the detriment of their serious and solemn obligations that continue to fill their lives. This contact with four frightful years will leave a veil of melancholy in the depths of their eyes, and even if they are among the privileged few who have not

⁸⁹ “Paris Openings are Keyed to Victory; The Couturiers Who Prepared Their Opening Models in the ‘Black Days’ of July, Exhibited Costumes Worthy of the Conquering Tide Which Turned Toward Hope and Victory in August,” *Vogue*, New York, New York, United States, Volume 52, Issue 7, 1 October 1918, p. 51.

⁹⁰ “What war has done to clothes,” *Vogue*, New York, New York, United States, 15 October 1918, p. 62.

received an incurable wound from this war, their heart will share in the mourning of others, and in the midst of their renewed social life they will keep a space for reflection and for persisting in their post-war charitable duties. The doll-woman and the dummy-woman will have disappeared—but you will not find any criticism of that change here.⁹¹

⁹¹ Certes, nos admirables femmes françaises aimeront à se reprendre à leurs élégances, elles voudront de nouveau affirmer leur suprématie dans le domaine du gout où nul ne contestera jamais leur empire, mais ce ne sera jamais non plus au détriment des obligations sérieuses, parfois austères, dont leur vie restera remplie. Ce contact de quatre années effroyables avec toutes les souffrances laissera au fond de leurs yeux un voile de mélancolie, et si même elles sont parmi les privilégiées que la guerre n'a point meurtries d'inguérissables blessures, leur cœur prendra sa part du deuil d'autrui, et au milieu de la vie sociale et mondaine reprise, elles garderont une place pour le recueillement intérieur et aussi pour les œuvres dont le soutien et la persistance restera leur devoir d'après-guerre. La femme-poupée, la femme-mannequin aura disparu, mais—et ce n'est point en ces pages que l'on saurait l'en blâmer.

“La Mode et les modes,” *Les Modes*, Paris, France, Number 179, Noël 1918, p. 12.

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**“For God and Ulster:”
Political Manifestation of Irish Dress and the
Ulster Volunteer Medical and Nursing Corps, 1912–1918**

Rachel Sayers

Abstract

During 1912–1918, women who were loyal to the Union of Great Britain and Ireland, the “Unionists” of the Irish province of Ulster, became increasingly politicised through organisations including the Ulster Women’s Unionist Council (UWUC) and the Ulster Volunteer Medical and Nursing Corps (UVMNC). These groups were some of the few means, then available, for Unionist Ulster women to officially manifest their political beliefs, before the era of active female participation in politics that emerged with the right to vote. This article addresses the UVMNC nurse uniform as a symbolic evocation of Unionist activities and politics within the turbulent era of 1912–1918.

Introduction

In 1912 Ireland was facing its third Home Rule Crisis; the first two attempts in 1886 and 1893 had both failed, but the third initiative attempted to establish a separate parliament in Dublin with Ireland remaining within the British Empire. However, the Nationalist community, which supported a complete break with Great Britain, sought to establish an independent Irish state; it alarmed the Unionist community because this would sever their link with the United Kingdom. This crisis prompted a widespread fear of civil war erupting between the Nationalist and Unionist factions, which induced Unionist politicians such as Sir Edward Carson (Figure 1) and Sir James Craig to establish the paramilitary Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) in 1912; the UVF motto was “For God and Ulster.” The Ulster Volunteer Medical and Nursing Corps (UVMNC) was formed shortly after, when the executive committee of the UVF realised that it would need an auxiliary force of messengers, signallers, doctors, and nurses to assist if a civil war broke out in Ireland.^{1, 2}



Figure 1:
Edward Carson
Inspecting UVF Members,
circa 1912-1914,
Private Collection,
Belfast, Northern Ireland.

¹ Sean Graffin, “Hope and Experience: Nurses from Belfast Hospitals in the First World War,” in David Durnin, Ian Miller, eds., *Medicine, Health and Irish Experiences of Conflict, 1914-45*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, England, 2017, pp. 139-155.

² See: Nancy Kingham, *United We Stood: The Official History of the Ulster Women’s Unionist Council, 1911-1974*, Appletree Press, Belfast, Northern Ireland, 1975.

The Ulster Women's Unionist Council and the Ulster Volunteer Medical and Nursing Corps

Carson and Craig called upon their female friends from the Irish upper classes to help establish a nursing training programme for women interested in joining the UVMNC. Hariot, Marchioness of Dufferin and Ava then wrote in October 1913 to The Red Cross in England, stating "Sir, we are very anxious to call the attention of the National Committee to the question of the organisation of a nursing service in Ulster."³ She was then Vice President of the UWUC, which had been founded in 1911 as the women's equivalent of the male-only Ulster Unionist Council (UUC). Both these organisations worked to promote Unionist candidates at elections and to fundraise for their cause. The UWUC was then especially significant as one of the only official outlets for women who were interested in actively participating in Unionist politics.

A memorandum of May 1913 from the Medical Board of the UVMNC called for the executive committee of the UWUC to encourage more women to register for first aid classes with the aim of joining the UVMNC as nurses (hereafter Ulster Volunteer nurses).⁴ Many who had already joined were active within the UWUC and/or had signed the "Women's Declaration" on "Ulster Day," 28 September 1912, to oppose the Third Home Rule Bill then being introduced by the British government. Men signed the separate "Solemn League and Covenant" pledge and altogether some 500,000 loyalist signatures were obtained. Women who then joined the UVMNC received training from either the St. Johns Ambulance or Red Cross organisations.

However, even with women becoming more involved in Unionist politics and activities, the UUC insisted that the UWUC continue to be subordinate and remain in supporting roles.⁵ This restriction was repeated in all UWUC meeting minutes, and several letters were sent from the UUC to the UWUC asking members to take a secondary, background role at all future political events, such as Ulster Day.⁶ This soon shifted as signs appeared of the growing acceptance of a more prominent role for Ulster women within Unionist politics, albeit in the traditional role as nurses.⁷

³ Letter from Hariot, Marchioness of Dufferin and Ava to the Executive of the UVMNC, Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, Belfast, Northern Ireland, 16 October 1913, D/1098/1/1.

⁴ Letter to the Executive Committee Ulster Women's Unionist Council, Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, Belfast, Northern Ireland, 20 May 1913, D1098/1/1.

⁵ Minutes, Ulster Women's Unionist Council Executive Committee, Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, Belfast, Northern Ireland, 1 October 1913, D1098/1.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Minutes, Ulster Women's Unionist Council Executive Committee, Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, Belfast, Northern Ireland, 18 November 1913, D1098/2.

In 1914, Ulster Volunteer nurses often held a prominent appearance at public events (Figure 2 and Figure 3). This suggests a greater acceptance of women's involvement in Unionist activities; however, it is important to note that Carson opposed women getting the right to vote and his acceptance of the Ulster Volunteer nurses was still only in the secondary capacity as caregivers.⁸



Figure 2:
Edward Carson Inspecting a UVF Nursing Detachment, circa 1914,
Private Collection, Banbridge, Northern Ireland.

⁸ Mary Baker, *Irish Citizen*, 6 September 1913, in Diane Urquhart, "An Articulate and Definite Cry for Political Freedom: The Ulster Suffrage Movement," *Women's History Review*, Volume 11, Issue 2, 2002, p. 279.



Figure 3:
Ulster
Volunteer
Nurses and
a UVF
Battalion,
circa 1914,
Private
Collection,
Banbridge,
Northern
Ireland.

Equipping the Ulster Volunteer Nurses

The number of UWMNC nurses was growing. A 1913 letter to Hariot, Marchioness of Dufferin and Ava from the secretary of the St. Johns Ambulance Corps in Ireland stated that prior to 1913, 58 nursing training classes had already been provided for the UWMNC and that he was receiving more requests on a daily basis.⁹ Some 3000 women joined the UVF as nurses during 1912-1914, but the question of equipping them was problematic for the UWUC.¹⁰ Timothy Bowman points out that this became an increasing challenge as more men and women joined up and their numbers grew ever larger.¹¹ He further notes that no established authority existed within the UVF to issue uniforms to the members, since it was the responsibility of each company's commanding officer to issue all equipment. Alvin Jackson observes that there were no attempts made by the officers in command even to formalise these

⁹ Minutes, op cit., D1098/2.

¹⁰ Diane Urquhart, *The Ladies of Londonderry: Women and Political Patronage*, IB Tauris, London, England, 2007, p. 111.

¹¹ Timothy Bowman, "The Ulster Volunteers, 1913-1914: Force or Farce?" Undated, <https://www.historyireland.com/20th-century-contemporary-history/the-ulster-volunteers-1913-1914-force-or-farce/>, Accessed 31 October 2018.

patterns for either the men or women.¹² Ulster Volunteer nurses in this period thus often worked in civilian dress whilst waiting to be issued with official uniforms.¹³ In Figure 4 the nurses wear civilian dress with white brassards bearing small red crosses on the left upper arm and only one wears a nurse uniform: the nurse in the centre of the postcard, wearing the long white skirt. As the figure caption notes, Ulster women were doing “what they can” by manifesting their political commitment through the simple motif of an armband with a cross, which now displayed a more active role in Unionist politics.¹⁴



Figure 4:
Postcard, “Ulster Will Fight,” circa 1912–1914,
Private Collection, Banbridge, Northern Ireland.

¹² Alvin Jackson, *Ireland 1798–1998: War, Peace and Beyond*, John Wiley & Sons, Hoboken, New Jersey, United States, 2010, pp. 233–235.

¹³ Timothy Bowman, *Carson's Army; The Ulster Volunteer Force, 1910–22*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, England, 2012, p. 125.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

The official UVMNC nurse's uniform, which was most likely adopted in 1912 or 1913, consisted of a blue cotton button-down dress with white cuffs and a collar, a linen apron, arm brassard, and cap, together with black stockings and black leather shoes. This bore a strong resemblance to the Voluntary Aid Detachments (VAD), Red Cross, and St. Johns Ambulance nurse uniforms that were worn during the First World War era. But the uniform might include additional emblems, too, such as the Larne, County Antrim nurse (Figure 5) who wears a brassard and a small UVMNC nursing proficiency badge. Although UVMNC members received training from St. Johns Ambulance, this may indicate that she later worked in Red Cross hospitals and hence wore its Red Cross brassard.¹⁵



Figure 5:
Ulster Nurse Wearing
the UVMNC Badge
with a Closeup
Including the
St. Johns Ambulance
Bronze Medal,
circa 1912-1918,
© Inver Museum,
Larne,
Northern Ireland.

¹⁵ Author's Private Correspondence with Curator Isabel Apsley, Inver Museum, Larne, Northern Ireland, 2 November 2018.

This badge was earned by Ulster Volunteer nurses after completing their first aid training and was worn on the upper apron. Figure 6 shows one of these together with the similar medal and cloth apron flash worn by St. Johns Ambulance nurses during the First World War. The badge is red, white, blue, and gold enamel with the slogan “UVMNC For God and Ulster” in gold letters on a blue ground, with the province’s traditional “Red Hand of Ulster” emblem at the bottom and a white ground. Such examples have survived in several private and public collections across Ireland. A group photograph of nurses from Larne, County Antrim (Figure 7) shows several on the right wearing proficiency badges on their aprons.



Figure 6:
UVMNC Nursing Medal, Badge, and Apron Flash,
circa 1912-1918, © Inver Museum, Larne, Northern Ireland.



Figure 7:
UVF Nurses at Drumalis House, Larne, County Antrim,
circa 1912-1914,
© Inver Museum, Larne, Northern Ireland.

Many women who served in the UVMNC possibly made their own uniforms from paper sewing patterns, which were increasingly used in this period.¹⁶ The following 1917 paper pattern (Figure 8) for making various garments of American nurse uniforms during the First World War is taken from *McCall's Magazine*. Although not completely the same, the uniforms are similar to the UVMNC pattern in their basic details.

¹⁶ Joy Spanabel Emery, *A History of the Paper Pattern Industry: The Home Dressmaking Fashion Revolution*, Bloomsbury Academic, London, England, 2014, pp. 72-98.



Figure 8:
 “Responding to the Country’s Call,”
 McCall’s Magazine Paper Patterns,
 © Pattern Vault Website, Toronto, Canada, July 1917.¹⁷

¹⁷ <https://blog.pattern-vault.com/2014/11/11/patterns-for-the-great-war>, Accessed 1 November 2018.

Alternatively, women could also buy readymade nurse uniforms within the United Kingdom from department stores and specialist outfitters, such as Garrould's of London (Figure 9).



Garrould's

For all kinds of
NURSES' UNIFORMS,
CAPS, GOWNS, . .
BONNETS, etc. . . .

Supplied to H.M. War Office,
H.M. Colonial Office, India
Office, Ministry of Munitions,
London County Council,
etc., etc.

Contractors to the St. John
Ambulance Association and the
British Red Cross Society.
Write for Uniform Catalogues,
officially approved, containing
illustrations and Particulars—
POST FREE.

Write for **GARROULD'S**
ILLUSTRATED NURSES'
CATALOGUE of Nurses' Uni-
forms, Surgical Instruments, etc.,
post free on application.

E. & R. Garrould, 150 to 162 Edgware Rd.,
Hyde Park, London, W.

Telegrams—
"Garrould, Edge, London".

Telephones—
5320, 5321 and 6297 Paddington.

Figure 9:
Advertisement,
"Garrould's for All Kinds of Nurses' Uniforms, Caps, Gowns, Bonnets, Etc.,"
in Honnor Morten, *The Nurse's Dictionary*, Ninth Edition,
The Scientific Press, London, England, 1915.¹⁸

¹⁸ <http://www.highroydshospital.com/resource/mid-wales-hospital-talgarth/the-college-of-nursing-mid-wales-hospital>, Accessed 2 November 2018.

Finding a suitable uniform was an ongoing problem, even for such affluent UVMNC members as Lillian, Lady Spender, whose husband, prominent civil servant Sir Wilfrid Spender, had helped establish the UVF in 1912. Lady Spender states in a 1914 diary entry that she had to travel to Belfast to shop for accessories for her uniform, writing, “I met Eva in town, and we tried to get the regulation hats for our nurse’s uniform having only been told the night before that we would want them on Wednesday! Of course, they were sold out!”¹⁹ She further noted that her uniform was “abominably made...[and that her friend] Mrs. Macaulay promised to help me alter it.”²⁰ The diary further notes that on one occasion when on parade, not all the men who participated were in uniform, either, wearing a mixed assortment of civilian and military dress.²¹ Evidently, obtaining items of the proper uniform was not only problematic for the women but also the men. Without a central committee to oversee procurement and distribution, the members had to wear whatever they could acquire on their own.

The continual shortages of even the most basic equipment is a recurring theme in the experiences of Ulster Volunteer nurses, which may explain why so few examples have survived. But such shortages and poor workmanship were not unique to the Ulster Volunteer nurses, as Eileen Crofton discusses in her work on the Scottish Women’s Hospitals in France.²² She notes that nurses at the hospital at Royaumont, France also had ongoing problems with acquiring the right type of uniforms for their work.²³ Few diaries have been unearthed that show how these women felt about wearing the uniform and serving as Ulster Volunteer nurses during the First World War. Lady Spender’s diary is one of the very few that are known.

Likewise, while some five years have been expended in this research to trace and study nursing artefacts as material culture sources for the history of the women’s movement in Ireland, few examples have been unearthed. Catriona Beaumont observes that we should not only think about how people lived in the past, but we must also examine how material culture and clothing influenced and reflected what

¹⁹ Lillian Spender, *Personal Diary of Lillian Spender*, Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, Belfast, Northern Ireland, February 1914–December 1914, D1633/2/19.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Eileen Crofton, *Angels of Mercy: A Women’s Hospital on the Western Front, 1914–1918*, Birlinn Ltd, Edinburgh, Scotland, 2013, pp. 28–30, 84–85.

²³ Ibid.

and how they thought about themselves.²⁴ This perspective can be applied to remnants of Ulster Volunteer nurse uniforms to help us understand why they joined the organisation. The nurse's badge proclaimed her work in the UVMNC, yet also signified a political allegiance to the Unionist cause. Each nurse thus became, by implication, the physical embodiment through her uniform of the female allegiance with and contribution to Unionism: as the Union Jack symbolised the British nation, the Crown and Ireland's continued link with the United Kingdom. Historically, martial uniforms and colours symbolise not just all these values but also each other, as in the British Army.²⁵

The Ulster Volunteer Nurses and World War One

First World War British propaganda posters often include women and constitute a significant source of information on their symbolisms and wartime roles. Cathy Newman argues that these graphics did “not just stand for innocence, domesticity and morality, but also for Britannia herself.”²⁶ A similar symbolism appears in portrayals of Irish women in recruitment posters (Figure 10), including the figure of Hibernia standing beside her harp with a soldier in its centre. Jo Fox observes that the woman's



Figure 10:
Recruitment Poster,
Dublin, circa 1914–1918,
© The Imperial War Museum,
London, England,
Art.IWM PST 13607.

²⁴ Catriona Beaumont, <https://twitter.com/caitbeaumont/status/1059426077263699969>, 5 November 2018, Accessed 5 November 2018.

²⁵ Uniform and colour symbolisms are treated in Scott Hughes Myerly, *British Military Spectacle: From the Napoleonic Wars through the Crimea*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, United States, 1996, pp. 9, 96–99.

²⁶ Cathy Newman, *Bloody Brilliant Women*, William Collins, London, England, 2018, pp. 87–88.

image appealed to the male concept of the home and hearth, which they had left behind and fought to defend.²⁸

A comparable imagery was utilised by the UVMNC to promote a book published to raise money for the UVF hospitals in Ulster during Christmas of 1915 (Figure 11), which depicts a nurse. The UVMNC had approached renowned Irish artist William Conor to produce this cover image depicting a nurse wearing a typical period uniform and a white cap with “Ulster” on it. She evokes the ancient red-haired goddess of Ulster, ‘Macha’, by aiding a wounded Ulsterman. Lorna Stevens and Paula Maclaran note that Macha is especially associated with war, since she cursed “the sons of Ulster for presiding over the grim crop reaped on the battlefield”²⁹ and this Ulster nurse is similarly depicted supporting an Ulsterman to save him from the grim realities of war. The poster and book thus depict an idealised Irish femininity.

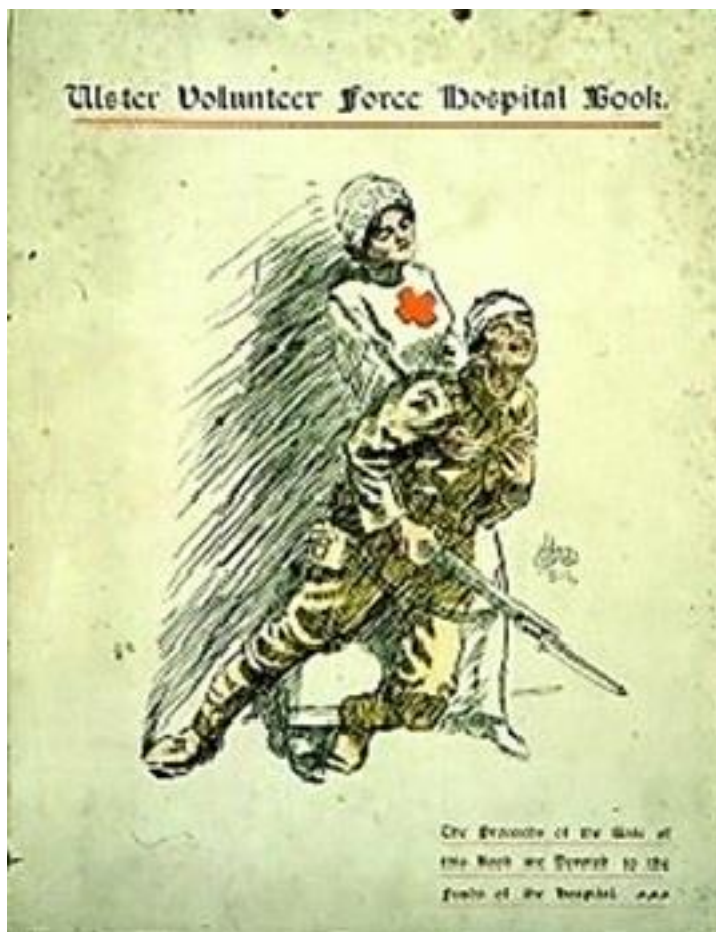


Figure 11:
Ulster Volunteer Force
Hospital Book,
circa 1915,
Private Collection,
Belfast,
Northern Ireland.

²⁸ Jo Fox, “Women in World War One Propaganda,” 29 January 2014, <https://www.bl.uk/world-war-one/articles/women-in-world-war-one-propaganda>, Accessed 8 November 2018.

²⁹ Lorna Stevens and Paula Maclaran, “Exploring the Celtic Narrative in Advertising: Goddess Culture and the Lexicon of Perfumery,” *Journal of Strategic Marketing*, Volume 15, Issue 1, February 2007, p. 32.

Sean Graffin observes that:

The existence of UVF hospitals strongly suggests that female participation in medical activity could result from political affiliations and a desire to demonstrate loyalist [Unionist] credentials....in a period when Irish Independence became imminent.³⁰

The posters' imagery and their successful response thus highlights the implicit political beliefs of these nurses, both before and during the First World War.

Tracing Remaining Artefacts

Since Ulsterwomen were increasing their political activity by joining the Unionist nursing organisation, it is difficult to understand why more Ulster Volunteer nurse uniform artefacts have not survived. These artefacts could provide a clearer picture of the Ulster Volunteer nurse's role within Unionist history and perhaps more stories about these members and their political interests. Is it possible that so very many Ulster Volunteer artefacts have been lost or remain unseen in private collections? Despite years of research, only recently have the remains of a single Ulster Volunteer nurse's apron been located in the possession of her family. While she was extremely proud of her contribution as a nurse before and during the First World War, they did not want it to be disclosed since they feel uncomfortable about their relative's implicit association with the current UVF.³¹ In the 1960s the modern UVF was reformed with another violent upsurge of the conflict, which included a major civil rights march in Londonderry, the onset of renewed guerrilla warfare, the deployment of British troops in 1969, and a subsequent, uneasy truce.³²

This apron retains most of its white linen skirt, though a section on the centre left side is torn and missing, but the waistband is intact with four mother-of-pearl buttons still attached. The bib is completely missing except for a small piece of white linen attached to the waistband and a small name tag inside, bearing her name. This apron would have been similar to others worn by nurses as seen above (Figure 5 and Figure 7). The owner wore it during 1916-1918 and kept it afterwards to wear while doing

³⁰ Graffin, *op cit.*, pp. 139-165.

³¹ Author's Private Correspondence with the Owner of the UWUC Nurse's Apron, Anonymous, Banbridge, Northern Ireland, 2 August 2018.

³² *Ibid.*

housework, hence its poor condition. Alison Slater's writings on the materiality of saved clothing discusses the retention of items by the owners as a form of remembrance, since it connects them to their past lives when that earlier history may seem distant.³³ Carole Hunt and Tim Ingold add that fabric and clothing carry archival memories with their own complex histories, so even in a damaged state this apron conveys historical meaning.³⁴ These observations are pertinent to the fluctuating history of this apron as an historical object, for which Ingold and Hunt's views on the relationship between archival memory and clothing are most relevant, since its context changed with the death of the original owner. The materiality and historical memory of the apron thus changed over time from being a relic that was cherished by the individual who first owned it, to acquiring for later generations of her family a quite different, negative connotation as an historical object.

Sandra Weber and Claudia Mitchell add to this by arguing that clothing can form an "entry point" for evolving collective and individual memories,³⁵ to become a useful tool for changing how people feel about certain historical eras by providing a more intimate understanding of the owner's individual history.³⁶ This apron could thus be used to challenge the family's negative feelings about her political loyalties to promote a different understanding of that turbulent period. Jan Assman and John Czaplicka note that cultural memory changes when new social and historical meaning is conveyed³⁷ and Wulf Kansteiner also argued that for some historical discourses, preconceived histories can be challenged by utilising artefacts to reveal hidden perspectives that can highlight neglected or forgotten aspects.³⁸ The arguments of Assman, Czaplicka, and Kansteiner are thus pertinent to the political contributions of Ulster women to Unionist politics during 1912-1918. Collective memories can be stimulated through such objects as this apron to help overcome the reluctance of the family owning it to fully appreciate its symbolic, related history (Figure 12). Publicising it will make this history more widely known in a collective memory of the Irish people.

³³ Alison Slater, "Wearing Memory: Materiality and Oral Histories of Dress," *Critical Studies in Fashion and Beauty*, Volume 5, Issue 1, October 2014, pp. 129-130.

³⁴ Carole Hunt, "Re-Tracing the Archive: Materialising Memory," *Critical Studies in Fashion and Beauty*, Volume 5, Issue 2, December 2014, p. 1, and Tim Ingold, "Materials against Materiality," *Archaeological Dialogues*, Volume 14, Issue 1, June 2007, pp. 1-16.

³⁵ Claudia Mitchell and Sandra Weber, *Not Just Any Dress: Narratives of Memory, Body, Identity*, Peter Lang Publishing Inc, New York, New York, United States, 2004, pp. 3-11.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Jan Assmann and John Czaplicka, "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity," *New German Critique*, Number 65, Spring-Summer 1995, pp. 125-133.

³⁸ Wulf Kansteiner, "Finding Meaning in Memory: A Methodological Approach Critique of Collective Memory Studies," *History and Theory*, Volume 41, May 2002, pp. 183-185.

ULSTER VOLUNTEER FORCE HOSPITAL.			
<p>THE COMMITTEE, IN SUBMITTING TO ALL THE SUBSCRIBERS THEIR REPORT of the Work of the Hospital for the two years since its inauguration, makes a further Appeal to the generosity of the Ulster people to enable them to actually have the necessary Funds of £10,000 fully in hand to complete the increased accommodation asked for by the War Office for its Limbless Section. Appended are the full Accounts, and it should be noted that although the figures cover from November, 1914, the actual Work of the Hospital only commenced on 18th February, 1915, and the record speaks for itself.</p> <p>Contributions are earnestly requested to be sent to:—</p> <p style="text-align: right;">SIR R. M. LIDDELL, J.P., 42 & 44, Upper Queen Street, BELFAST.</p>			
<i>Receipts and Payments Account for period from November, 1914, till 30th September, 1916.</i>			
RECEIPTS.		PAYMENTS.	
Subscriptions (as per published lists)	£19,008 13 5	BUILDING AND EQUIPMENT:—	
War Office Capitation Grants	9,550 15 0	Building, Plumbing, and Electric Installation to date ...	7,682 5 1
Sale of Refuse, Dripping, &c.	5 16 6	Beds, Bedding, Linens, Furniture, and Furnishings to date	2,246 5 11
Interest—			£9,928 11 0
On Treasury Bills £112 14 4		CURRENT EXPENDITURE:—	
On Bank Account 252 5 3	364 19 7	Stores and Provisions—	
Balance due Belfast Banking Co., Ltd.	549 6 4	Groceries	£1,175 17 6
		Bread	454 1 5
		Milk, Butter, and Eggs	1,753 19 3
		Meat, Fish, and Poultry	2,113 12 3
		Ham and Bacon ...	458 14 0
		Flour and Meal ...	17 12 9
		Potatoes	60 18 4
		Mineral Waters, &c.	69 15 11
		Fruit	71 11 8
		Tobacco	93 1 5
		Soap	13 3 10
			6,282 8 4
		Heating and Lighting—	
		Coal and Coke ...	£248 19 7
		Gas and Electricity	782 7 9
			1,031 7 4
		Motor and Ambulance Expenses ...	66 3 11
		Laundry	813 4 10
		Advertising and Printing	282 16 6
		Travelling Expenses (Nursing Staff)	146 15 10
		Nurses' Uniforms	49 13 11
		Telephones and Tele-	3104 11 2

Figure 12:

Belfast News Letter, Ulster Volunteer Force Hospital, December 1916,
with the Cost of Nurse Uniforms Highlighted on the Bottom Right-Hand Column
at £49, 13, 11, the Total Amount Spent on All Nurse Uniforms
from November 1914 to September 1916,
© British Newspaper Archive, London, England.

The Ulster Volunteer Nurses and The First World War

This historical memory is especially meaningful in Northern Ireland for the current “Decade of Centenaries 1912 to 1922” commemorations. These commemorations include exhibitions, conferences, a website, and have yielded new information about Irish women. For example, at a conference in County Tyrone in 2015, Edith Harkness’ tour of duty in France with the North Tyrone UVMNC Nursing Brigade at the UVF hospital in Pau, France was discussed by Edith’s granddaughter, Claire McElhinney.³⁹ Also, Andrea Hetherington’s book discusses the contribution of nurses Elizabeth Coey and Jessie Dickson, who also worked at the UVF hospital in Pau, France.⁴⁰ These are but a few examples of the fragmentary histories that have been uncovered of Ulster volunteer nurses, though most of the information unearthed for this article details only their training and service records, which makes understanding how these nurses felt about the Unionist cause more problematic.

The activities of the UVMNC expanded after the First World War erupted in 1914. The UVMNC began providing nursing services for the British Army Expeditionary Force in France. French hospitals came under the authority of the French Red Cross, and the Pau hospital was staffed by nursing members of the North Tyrone UVMNC.⁴¹ The first hospital operated in Villa Beaupre, Pau, France during 1914–1916 with 80 beds, and then moved to Lyon, France in April 1916.⁴² A letter from UVF nurse, Daphne Stronge, provides information on what soldiers did during their recoveries at the Pau hospital, including going to the cinema and visiting Lourdes.⁴³

These hospitals’ counterpart in Belfast was run by the British War Office and was located on the grounds of Queen’s University, Belfast.⁴⁴ Nurse Agnes Agnew of Banbridge, County Down (Figure 13) served there, and her story has come to light

³⁹ Linda Logan, “West Ulster and World War One,” 29 March 2015, <https://cultureandcrafts.wordpress.com/tag/uvf-medical-and-nursing-corps>, Accessed 9 November 2018.

⁴⁰ Andrea Hetherington, *Widows of the First World War: The Forgotten Legion*, Pen & Sword Books Ltd, Barnsley, England, 2018, p. 72.

⁴¹ Laurence Binyon, *For Dauntless France: An Account of Britain’s Aid to the French wounded and Victims of War*, Hodder & Stoughton, London, England, 1918, pp. 331, 137–138.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Daphne Stronge, “West Ulster and World War One,” 28 March 2015, <https://cultureandcrafts.wordpress.com/tag/daphne-stronge>, Accessed 9 November 2018; and, “Memorials: The UVF Hospital, Pau, France,” Undated, <http://www.robertmorrowvc.co.uk/html/memorials/pau-bed.html>, Accessed 9 November 2018.

⁴⁴ “Queen’s and World War One”, Undated, <http://digitalcollections.qub.ac.uk/site/WW1/uvf.php>, Accessed 18 November 2018.

through the Living Legacies website after her relatives consented to her nursing autograph book being digitised online. Agnes Agnew's autograph book covers the period, 1914–1918 and is interspersed with drawings of soldiers, nurses, First World War era fashions, and poems by patients (Figure 14).⁴⁵



Figure 13:
Agnes Agnew, Photographer Unknown, circa 1910–1914,
© Living Legacies Website and Museum of Orange Heritage,
Belfast, Northern Ireland, A003.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Her interesting autograph book includes many comments on nurses' war work and what they might do afterwards. A poignant 1917 image depicts a lady's maid dressing her, which may indicate that some women later went into domestic work.

⁴⁶ <http://qub.ac.uk/sites/LivingLegacies1914-18/HostedSites/EastBelfastandTheGreatWar/Roadshows/TheMuseumofOrangeHeritageSchombergHouse>, Accessed 5 November 2018.



Figure 14:
A Page from the Autograph Book of Agnes Agnew, circa 1917,
© Living Legacies Website and Museum of Orange Heritage,
Belfast, Northern Ireland, A003.⁴⁷

Agnes Agnew is an interesting figure. In 1912, Agnes signed the Ulster Covenant Women's Declaration, which was the female equivalent to the Ulster Solemn League and Covenant, which was signed by men in Ulster in protest to the Third Home Rule Bill. Both the male and female covenants were designed to show the loyalty of men and women in Ulster to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. Agnes would not have been able to sign the men's covenant as the UUC had not permitted

⁴⁷ Ibid.

women to sign the document, and women had to negotiate with the UUC to be able to produce their own declaration.⁴⁸

Agnes was an UVF nurse prior to the outbreak of the First World War. The 1901 census lists her profession as a “probationer nurse,” and the 1911 census cites her as an “invalid nurse” (Figure 15). Agnes thus had substantial nursing experience prior to 1912 and her signature appears second on the Ulster Women’s Covenant (Figure 16), all of which indicates that she had become politicised prior to the outbreak of the First World War.

CENSUS OF IRELAND, 1911.
Two Examples of the mode of filling up this Table are given on the other side.

FORM A.
RETURN of the MEMBERS of THIS FAMILY and their VISITORS, BOARDERS, SERVANTS, &c., who slept or abode in this House on the night of the 2nd of April 1911.

NAME AND SURNAMES.	RELATION to Head of Family.	RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE.	EDUCATION.	AGE (last birthday) and SEX.		RANK, PROFESSION, OR OCCUPATION.	PARTICULARS AS TO MARRIAGE.		
				Age of Males.	Age of Females.		Whether Married, Widowed, or Single.	Married years the present Marriage has lasted. If less than one year, write "under one."	Children born alive.
<i>Margaret Agnew</i>	<i>Mother</i>	<i>Presbyterian</i>	<i>Read & Write</i>	—	<i>75</i>	—	<i>Single</i>	—	—
<i>Agnes</i>	<i>Daughter</i>	<i>Presbyterian</i>	<i>Read & Write</i>	—	<i>45</i>	<i>Invalid Nurse</i>	<i>Single</i>	—	—

Figure 15:

Census of Ireland Record for Agnes Agnew and Her Mother, Margaret Agnew, Banbridge, County Down, 1911,

© The National Archives of Ireland Census Website, Dublin, Ireland.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Diane Urquhart, “Ulster Covenant: Women’s Signature Role in the Fight against Home Rule,” 25 September 2012, <https://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk/opinion/news-analysis/ulster-covenant-womens-signature-role-in-the-fight-against-home-rule-28866873.html>, Accessed 6 November 2018.

⁴⁹ <http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/reels/nai002161471/>, Accessed 2 November 2018.

Declaration:—

PARLIAMENTARY DIVISION, _____

DISTRICT, _____

PLACE OF SIGNING, _____

We, whose names are underwritten, women of Ulster, and loyal subjects of our gracious King, being firmly persuaded that Home Rule would be disastrous to our Country, desire to associate ourselves with the men of Ulster in their uncompromising opposition to the Home Rule Bill now before Parliament, whereby it is proposed to drive Ulster out of her cherished place in the constitution of the United Kingdom, and to place her under the domination and control of a Parliament in Ireland.

Praying that from this calamity God will save Ireland, we hereto subscribe our names.

NAME.		ADDRESS.
<i>Eliza Corke</i>	(P)	<i>Mullafarnagh Bawnbeg</i>
<i>Agnes Agnew</i>	(P)	<i>Mullafarnagh Bawnbeg</i>

Figure 16:

Signature of Agnes Agnew, Ulster Covenant, 1912,

© Public Records Office of Northern Ireland, Belfast, UK, D627/420/67.

The autograph book of Agnes Agnew and her signature on the Women's Declaration both signify her awareness of the political situation at the time of the Home Rule Crisis and well into the First World War. Did she sign the covenant just because her contemporaries did so? Or, did she sign of her own free will due to an interest in Unionist politics? These are a few of the questions that arise in reading biographies of UVF nurses, yet unfortunately these questions often go unanswered. But the autograph book of Agnes Agnew is a visual reminder that during 1912-1918 a percentage of Ulsterwomen were becoming more visibly active in the public sphere and, likely, increasingly politicised, of which her story is just one example, yet no direct evidence has surfaced of her true political feelings. But her experience reinforces how female Ulster nurses' service during this era helped to generate an increasing involvement in Irish politics. More evidence is needed to establish the thesis that by joining the UVMNC and by wearing the symbolic nurse uniform, Ulster nurses became more involved in Irish politics during the First World War. Yet this question also concerns their opinions after the First World War ended in 1918, amidst the ongoing problems that continued to escalate in Ireland after the Easter Rising of 1916.

Conclusion

Dress as physical evidence can be central to challenging previous historical understandings and interpretations. Unfortunately, due to the precarious nature of current Unionist politics and its associations with such paramilitary organisations as the revived UVF, it has been difficult to persuade the families of UVF nurses to share and make public their articles of dress. However, if owners or collectors of circa 1912–1918 UVF ephemera can be persuaded to share their collections with the public, perceptions of the original UVF can be challenged to reveal a clearer, more concise picture that includes the increasing politicisation of Unionist women during 1912–1918, through the means of the Ulster Volunteer Force nurse uniform. The limited amount of available surviving primary sources has provided limited evidence that such Ulsterwomen as Lillian, Lady Spender and Agnes Agnew were becoming more politicised in Unionist politics due to their service as UVF nurses. This conclusion remains preliminary and requires additional archival research in Ireland and France to fully understand the degree to which political perspectives were manifested through nurse uniforms, or whether most women were simply becoming involved in one of the few outlets open to women at a time before they obtained the right to vote. Additionally, a study that contrasts the experiences of the women who joined the UVMNC during 1912–1914 with those women who joined the UVMNC after the First World War erupted in 1914, would be useful to better understand if their reasons for joining had changed once the nurses were no longer directly aiding the Unionist cause but serving the British Empire in the largest war that Britain had ever fought.

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Women's Fashion in Zagreb, Croatia, 1900-1918

Katarina Nina Simončič

Abstract

The Zagreb female dress culture before the First World War was marked by the influence of high fashion from abroad, less expensive modes, and with an onset of Orientalist-inspired styles. However, the outbreak of the First World War in 1914 generated dramatic changes: a significant development was that foreign fashions were less followed and many of the local fashion houses closed. Additional influences included the absence of the men who were fighting, wartime material shortages, poverty, and a general climate of uncertainty. These factors generated more austere looks, but also a resurgence in domestic sewing, which often used traditional Croatian motifs to express nationalist aspirations for independence. These developments are addressed by utilising evidence from the contemporary Zagreb press and graphics of clothing artefacts to analyse these dress practices.

Introduction

Croatia has had a long, turbulent history, and is one of many small European nations that were incorporated over the centuries into the sprawling Austro-Hungarian Empire (Figure 1 and Figure 2). Croatians were shocked by news of the 28 June 1914 assassination in Sarajevo of the Austro-Hungarian heirs to the throne, Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife Duchess Sophie of Hohenberg, which initiated the train of events that launched the First World War. The conflagration soon engulfed most of the major—and many of the minor—European powers. After the war ended, the Austro-Hungarian Empire broke up and Croatia became part of the mixed ethnic Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (1918–1929), later a part of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia until 1941. After enemy invasion and occupation during the Second World War, the Federal State of Croatia became part of the mixed state of Democratic Federal Yugoslavia (1944–1980), and after the civil war, emerged in 1991 as the sovereign state of Croatia.

Zagreb in 1900 was the capital of the nominally independent Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia under the Austro-Hungarian crown and was smaller than most other regional cities within the empire. But Zagreb was growing. According to the 1910 population census, Zagreb had 79,038 inhabitants¹ and the 1917 census shows a population of 89,073.² The most important wartime papers included *Narodne Novine* [Official Gazette], *Jutarnji List* [Morning Paper], *Obzor* [Horizon] and *Novine* [Newspaper], which apart from printing the daily news, provided much information on social life and fashion trends from Paris and Vienna. The journal *Hrvatska* [Croatia] also published a great deal about Zagreb's social life, and *Ilustrovani list* [Illustrated Paper] and *Dom i svijet* [Home and World] featured articles on the Zagreb street scene and wartime photos that showed what was worn.³

¹ Vijoleta Herman Kaurić, “Dobrotvorne akcije Za naše junake i njihove obitelji” [Charity Activities for Our Heroes and Their Families], in Kristian Strukić, ed., *Odjeci s bojišnice—Zagreb u Prvom svjetskom ratu* [Echoes from the Battlefield: Zagreb in the First World War], Zagreb City Museum, Zagreb, Croatia, 2015, p. 102.

² Vlatka Dugački and Krešimir Regan, “Zagreb u Prvom svjetskom ratu—ozračje osnivanja Medicinskog fakulteta” [Zagreb in the First World War: The Establishment of the Medical School in Zagreb], *Acta Medico-Historica Adriatica* [Adriatic Medical and Historical Journal], Volume 13, Issue 1, 2015, pp. 97–120.

³ Mirjana Jurić, “Zagreb u Prvome svjetskom ratu: povijesne novine kao izvor za istraživanje socijalne povijesti” [Zagreb during World War I: Historic Newspapers as a Source for Social History Research], *Libellarium*, Volume 2, Issue 2, 2009, pp. 121–144.



Figure 1:

Map of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in August 1914, with Zagreb Circled in Red,
© New Zealand Ministry for Culture and Heritage, Wellington, New Zealand.⁴



Figure 2:

Map of Croatia in April 2019,
© Central Intelligence Agency,
Washington, DC, United States.⁵

⁴ <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/photo/map-austro-hungarian-empire-1914>, Accessed 13 April 2019.

⁵ <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/resources/the-world-factbook/geos/hr.html>, Accessed 13 April 2019.

The Pre-War Fashion Climate in Zagreb

From the early twentieth century, the attitude towards fashion of the elite women of Zagreb was to follow the international trend-setting modes of the major fashion houses in capital cities, such as Vienna and Paris. Stylish Croatian dressmakers mostly followed the lead of Paris (then led by designer Paul Poiret), of which information appeared in the press, especially *Ilustrovani list* [Illustrated Paper] and *Jutarnji List* [Morning Paper]. There were also two fashion phenomena in Zagreb which were highlighted in the press: the high-quality, luxurious so-called “big” fashion (Figure 3), which followed the Parisian examples; and the “little” fashion,⁶ which used cheaper materials and was sometimes homemade (Figure 4 and Figure 5).⁷ The upper classes, who pursued “big” fashion, were mostly supplied by Viennese dressmakers and the garment manufacturers of Paris and Budapest. The middle classes, on the other hand, usually purchased cloth at local textile outlets that specialised in assortments of either French, Viennese, or English fabrics in a variety of patterns and colours, which could then be turned over to local dressmakers.



Figure 3:
“Big” Fashion in Zagreb, Ivan Rechnitzer, 1912,
© The Museum of Arts and Crafts, Zagreb, Croatia, MUO 42916.

⁶ While influenced by Paris, the local imitations in Zagreb were only partially authentic due to the usage of cheaper materials.

Zvonimir Pečnjak, ed., *Ilustrovani list* [Illustrated Paper], Dionička tiskara u Zagrebu [Shareholders' Printing House of Zagreb], Zagreb, Trojedna Kraljevina Hrvatska, Slavonija i Dalmacija [Three Kingdoms of Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia], Volume 1, Issue 2, 1914, p. 39.

⁷ Milka Pogačić, ed., *Domaće ognjište* [Domesticity], Udruga učiteljica [The Association of Teachers], Zagreb, Trojedna Kraljevina Hrvatska, Slavonija i Dalmacija [Three Kingdoms of Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia], Volume 2, 1907, p. 10.



Figure 4:
 “Little” Fashion in Zagreb,
 Atelier Brauner, 1907,
 Platinum Print, 139 x 89mm,
 © Zagreb City Museum,
 Zagreb, Croatia, MGZ 47574.



Figure 5:
 Removable Dress Decoration
 Similar to that Featured on the
 Blouse in Figure 4, Manufactured
 by Salamon Berger Industry
 (1885-1911), 1910,
 Cotton and Linen,
 © Ethnographic Museum,
 Zagreb, Croatia, ETN sb1.

The French imports offered rich palettes of colour and often included decorative applications, lightweight fabrics, heavy velvets, and lace. The firms’ advertisements also utilised the fabric names and dressmaking terms of France, Germany, and Italy to indicate their origin, yet the French were the most popular and have been used ever since. Domestic fabrics were also manufactured in Croatian textile factories. Their outlets were located on Zagreb’s fashionable main street, Ilica, and the fashionable dressmakers’ shops were nearby. The preeminent couturiers in Zagreb

were Gjuro Matić, Josip Pest, Ivan Božičević, and Anastazija Mišetić, who created made-to-measure clothing before the First World War.⁸

Amidst the zeal for foreign textiles and modes, a nationalist, independence movement, which was dissatisfied with Croatia's Hungarian connection, had been building, and patriots feared that the increasing influence of foreign urban fashion was eroding the national cultural heritage. They sought out ethnic sartorial traditions to promote a national awakening and this spread to the general population, whose political awareness was growing. Croatian art and dress had a strong and distinctive tradition of local styles that included characteristic colours, ornaments, and garments, which had been worn in the early nineteenth century as sumptuous, festive costumes for dancing and formal occasions. An example of distinctive Croatia dress was the *surka*, which was a traditional northwest Croatian men's coat that was short and brown, white, or gray, richly decorated with red braid and multicoloured embroidery (Figure 6). During the nineteenth century pan-South Slavic Illyrian movement, the *surka* became a national symbol in the fight against Austria-Hungary.

Nationalists adopted distinctive Croatia dress to advertise and promote their struggle. However, these ancestral styles were now combined with the latest international Art Nouveau fashions into a synergy that dramatically fused such seemingly contradictory looks. The first general assembly of The Association of Teachers of the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia discussed whether schools should incorporate instruction in traditional women's handiwork to encourage public awareness of these traditional folk arts and to preserve and promote them.⁹ From 1907, following the example of the Hungarian ministry, which financed the domestic production of these styles, the ministry of the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia also provided financial support for promoting traditional women's handiwork in the schools and to encourage the efforts of The Association of Teachers.

⁸ Stjepan Kugli, ed., *Dom i svijet: ilustrovani list za zabavu, pouku i vesti o dnevnih događajih, javnom i društvenom životu, umjetnosti i znanosti, trgovini i obrtu, glasbi, kazalištu i modi* [Home and World: Illustrated Newspaper for Entertainment, Education, Current Events, Public and Social Life, Art, Science, Trade and Crafts, Music, Theater, and Fashion], Jugoslavenske akademije i Kr. Sveučilišta, Zagreb, Trojedna Kraljevina Hrvatska, Slavonija i Dalmacija [Three Kingdoms of Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia], Issue 14, 1896, p. 279.

⁹ Milka Pogačić, ed., *Domaće ognjište* [Domesticity], Udruga učiteljica [The Association of Teachers], Zagreb, Trojedna Kraljevina Hrvatska, Slavonija i Dalmacija [Three Kingdoms of Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia], Volume 3, 1909, p. 12.



Figure 6:

Surka, a Traditional Northwest Croatian Men's Coat, circa 1850,
Made of Stout Peasant Cloth and Wool,
© Croatian History Museum, Zagreb, Croatia, HPM/PMH-958.

This pre-war ethnic dress revitalisation occurred just when Parisian fashion designers were embracing Orientalism, which had been generated by the enthusiastic reception of Serge Diaghilev's *Les Ballets Russes* performances in Paris. The Orientalist styles of its ballet costumes had a major impact on Paris fashion trends, and included lightweight permeable textiles, intense colour, geometrical ornaments, and such innovations as harem pants, tunics, caftans, and turbans. This trend soon came to encompass the unique Croatian folk styles, since the foreign press viewed its culture as being peripheral to Europe and thus a version of Orientalism, which had influenced its culture and dress via the Ottoman Turks.¹¹ This style caught on internationally and the zeal for these designs became so strong that even the less popular styles were widely adopted abroad. One of the most successful contributions to this trend were the products (Figure 7) manufactured by Salamon Berger Industry (1885-1911), which broke into the global market.

¹¹Katarina Nina Simončič, *Kultura odijevanja u Zagrebu na prijelazu iz 19. u 20. stoljeće* [The Culture of Dress in Zagreb at the End of the Nineteenth and at the Beginning of Twentieth Century], Plejada, Zagreb, Croatia, 2012.



Figure 7:
Woven Dress Decoration,
Manufactured by Salamon Berger Industry (1885–1911),
1910, Linen and Cotton, Ethnographic Museum,
Zagreb, Croatia, ETN sb2, sb3, sb4.

Although Zagreb was on the fringe of the Western and Central European cultural circle, Berger's firm and his textile and clothing products won a worldwide market, but became especially popular in Paris. The fabrics were made with the traditional Croatian *vutlak* [decorative weaving techniques that create porous fabric] and *na zijev* [weaving with applied decorative thread in geometrical shapes], combined together with Art Nouveau styles, which were eagerly purchased by the prestigious Parisian fashion salons of Madame Paquin and Paul Poiret.¹² Ironically, these designs that so appealed to foreign consumers were not received with enthusiasm at home by the elite Zagreb women who pursued high fashion. They believed that the true, authentically exotic modes were the Russian ballet versions, and they dismissed the old Croatian styles as merely archaic, provincial peasant dress.

Yet a small number of female nationalist patriots, especially those who pursued cultural goals to promote independence, adopted this autochthonous clothing in their own dress. In 1909, journalist Fran Milan Gjuikić described an example from a Zagreb woman whose “dress had a French cut, but it was embroidered with Croatian folk

¹² Vladimir Lunaček, ed., *Obzor* [Horizon], Dionička tiskara, Zagreb, Trojedna Kraljevina Hrvatska, Slavonija i Dalmacija [Three Kingdoms of Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia], 9 May 1909, p. 14.

motifs.”¹³ Local periodicals such as the magazine *Domaće ognjište* [Domesticity] heartily embraced these domestic designs, which appeared in the illustrations of Maša Janković, Zenaida Bandur la Stoda, and Melanija Rossi (of Zagreb), as well as Anka Hozman (of Konavle), who also adopted them for their own clothing (Figure 8). They had previously published German and French fashions, but now began to feature Croatian fashion illustrations and designs that depicted the traditional motifs as constituting “big fashion.”¹⁴ These were faithfully reproduced in illustrations that provided creative solutions on how to combine the old motifs with the latest styles, and the editorial board of *Domaće ognjište* even posted paper clothing patterns to their readers on request.

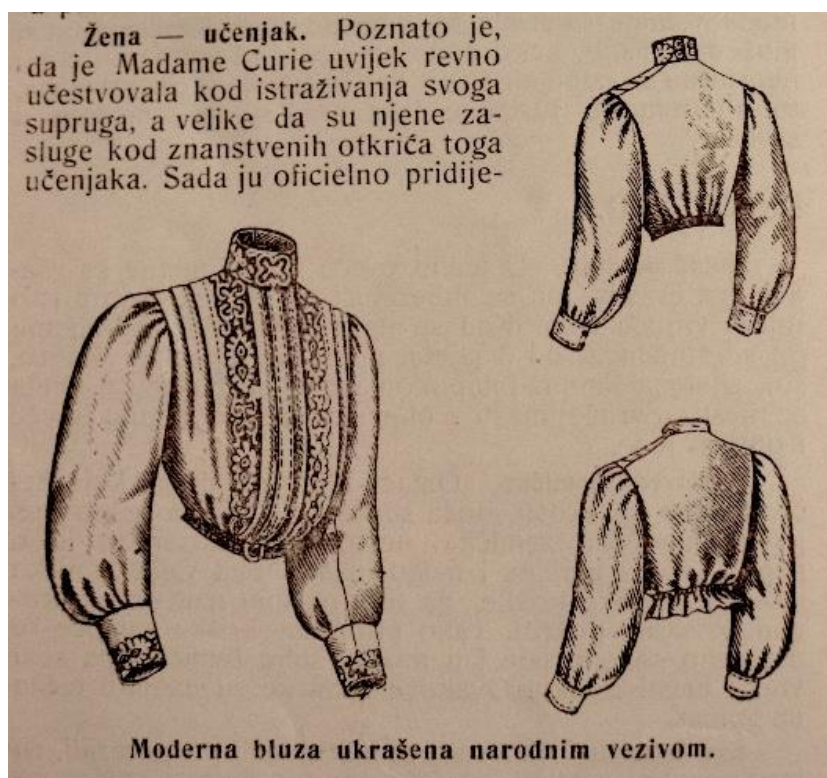


Figure 8:
Fashionable Blouse
with Croatian
Folk Motifs, 1910.¹⁵

¹³ Milka Pogačić, ed., *Domaće ognjište* [Domesticity], Udruga učiteljica [The Association of Teachers], Zagreb, Trojedna Kraljevina Hrvatska, Slavonija i Dalmacija [Three Kingdoms of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia], Volume 12, 1909, p. 328.

¹⁴ Lunaček, op cit., p. 328.

Milka Pogačić, ed., *Domaće ognjište* [Domesticity], Udruga učiteljica [The Association of Teachers], Zagreb, Trojedna Kraljevina Hrvatska, Slavonija i Dalmacija [Three Kingdoms of Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia], Volume 3, 1907, p. 4.

¹⁵ Milka Pogačić, ed., *Domaće ognjište* [Domesticity], Udruga učiteljica [The Association of Teachers], Zagreb, Trojedna Kraljevina Hrvatska, Slavonija i Dalmacija [Three Kingdoms of Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia], Volume 1, 1910, p. 25.

The magazines advised readers to sew traditional embroidery designs onto the borders of nightgowns, camisoles and curtains, towels, linens, blouses, dresses, handbags and especially children's clothing. They also suggested using the traditional colours, including vivid hues of red, blue, green, brown, black, and white. But after 1910, with a switch in taste, the colour palette changed and pastels prevailed for a time, with the traditional motifs now being confined to separate ribbons that could be sewn onto hems, necklines, cuffs, sleeves, and the hemline borders of skirts. A harmonious blend of three silk colours (known as *krstački vez* [embroidery with cross ornament], *opačica* [specific geometrical embroidery], or *zašarak* [multicolored embroidery]) or a simplified floral ornament in white (*pečki našav u bijelom*¹⁷-*peč* embroidery) were also applied onto fine linen cloth (Figure 9). But the geometric *konavle* or *pag* embroidery, known in Paris was as "Dalmatian embroidery,"¹⁸ was especially popular.



Figure 9:

Krstački vez and *opačica* [Dalmatian Embroidery], Designed by Maša Janković, 1908.¹⁹

¹⁷ Pogačić, op cit., 1907, p. 22.

¹⁸ Milka Pogačić, ed., *Domaće ognjište* [Domesticity], Udruga učiteljica [The Association of Teachers], Zagreb, Trojedna Kraljevina Hrvatska, Slavonija i Dalmacija [Three Kingdoms of Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia], Volume 1, 1908, p. 21.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 29.

War, Everyday life and Dress in Zagreb, 1914–1918

As the international crisis deepened in late July 1914, tensions between the Austro-Hungarian Empire and Serbia intensified. The former broke off all diplomatic relations with the latter, started a partial mobilisation, and then invaded. As a dependent of Austro-Hungary, Croatia was also mobilised, and military recruitment brought many significant problems; in addition to the personal tragedies of their men being killed and crippled in battle, many families were left without breadwinners and the state was obliged to financially support them amidst the ongoing crisis. Yet, the cultural and social life of Zagreb now intensified with an increase in theatre, concert and cinema attendance, while cafeterias and taverns were also full.²⁰ During the summer its citizens visited beaches on the Sava River while in wintertime took to ice skating. The wartime conditions and the intensified social life made for an unusual contrast; the daily newspapers described caravans of soldiers who were both “sad and happy as they were going to death,” yet also noted “modern girls in winter attire, with cat pelts, fur coats, [and] gloves of various colours.”²¹ Zagreb also experienced a large influx of soldiers, foreigners, fugitives, and the wounded, as well as more beggars and impoverished people, as wartime both disrupted, and took a toll on, peoples’ lives.

Fashionable dressmakers remained active for a while in Zagreb’s clothing culture during the early war years, but the scene changed as textiles and dress became subject to wartime austerity measures and materials became drastically limited, since production had to prioritize military uniforms. But along with this decrease in civilian clothing inventories, the economic blockade and transportation difficulties also caused a decline in quality. These developments generated a crisis in the textile market and restricted the scope for sartorial creativity, so the fashion salons closed down and the tailors, milliners, haberdashers, and shoemakers were also impacted,²² as austerity affected the entire dress market but especially clothing and textiles. Dress advertisements now emphasised sturdier products in order to attract customers and promoted textiles for being resilient, durable, and cheap. Linen also became increasingly popular together with cheap hemp and knitwear (jersey), which had been

²⁰ Mirjana Jurić, “Slika zagrebačkih ulica u ratno vrijeme” [Image of Zagreb Streets during the War], in Kristian Strukić, ed., *Odjeci s bojišnice—Zagreb u Prvom svjetskom ratu*, [Echoes from the Battlefield: Zagreb in World War I], Zagreb City Museum, Zagreb, Croatia, 2015, p. 78.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Maja Arčabić, “Tekstil kao dragocjena sirovina: potreba za lijepim i skromnim prilikama” [Textiles as a Valuable Raw Material: The Need for Beauty in Modest Circumstances], in Kristian Strukić, ed., *Odjeci s bojišnice - Zagreb u Prvom svjetskom ratu*, [Echoes from the Battlefield: Zagreb in World War I], Zagreb City Museum, Zagreb, Croatia, 2015, pp. 88–90.

launched for daily wear by the French designer, Coco Chanel. Silk had been restricted to military production, but jersey was still available.

By 1915 social conditions had considerably worsened²³ and wartime austerity measures also intensified. Amidst this era of crisis and deepening shortages, women now increasingly began to sew at home by using the foreign patterns that had appeared in the pre-war domestic periodicals, and this became an increasingly important part of their everyday lives. This trend was further reinforced and promoted by the government at various levels, as orders from the City of Zagreb, the Ban (Viceroy) Iván Skerlecz, and departments of local government advised teachers and students on how to sew homemade clothing that would be suitable for the wartime conditions. The pre-war, public school embroidery-making courses were expanded to include sewing, tailoring, and how to use alternative dressmaking materials, as well as how to make caps, gloves, scarves, underwear, socks, dresses from old clothes, and straw hats. The need for handmade items by soldiers on the front lines was so great that the students, who made items for the troops, were even exempt from attending school. Orphanages, shelters, and women's penitentiaries also participated. But this transformation required adjustments as some of the initial efforts were unsuccessful. Journalists in December 1914 learned from returning wounded soldiers that the winter caps, which students had made according to military specifications, were inadequate, since the soldiers' ears froze in the cold. It was therefore recommended to add ear flaps.²⁴

The press also provided suggestions on how to turn old clothing into wearable dress, which was fabricated by utilising alternative materials and reworking secondhand clothing into new garments.²⁵ Cotton filling for jackets was replaced with paper, and instead of expensive fox and reindeer pelts, wolf and beaver now became common substitutes. Additional advice showed how to refresh hats, bags, and gloves, and to make homemade textile dyes. Maja Arčabić noted how such alterations had become inevitable in the section she curated on everyday life as part of the exhibition, *Echoes from the Battlefield: Zagreb in World War I*, that was featured at the Zagreb City Museum in 2015. Arčabić demonstrated in the exhibition that from early in the war, most of the altered clothing consisted of garments previously worn by older family

²³Ibid., p. 80.

²⁴Boris Kukić, "Škole u ratnim uvjetima," [Schools during Wartime], in Kristian Strukić, ed., *Odjeci s bojišnice—Zagreb u Prvom svjetskom ratu*, [Echoes from the Battlefield: Zagreb in World War I], Zagreb City Museum, Zagreb, Croatia, 2015, p. 111.

²⁵Zvonimir Pečnjak, ed., *Ilustrovani list* [Illustrated Paper], Dionička tiskara u Zagrebu [Shareholders' Printing House of Zagreb], Zagreb, Trojedna Kraljevina Hrvatska, Slavonija i Dalmacija [Three Kingdoms of Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia], Volume 5, Issue 5, 1918, p. 74.

members. These clothes were initially utilised to make children's clothes; however, over time the clothes were primarily used to make women's dress.

The press also promoted efforts to awaken a patriotic sense of responsibility in clothing consumption as a wartime necessity, and, in particular, encouraged industry to produce and market indigenously produced textiles, clothing, and related goods. The overall effects of these developments reinvigorated the pre-war, nationalist trend of combining contemporary modes with the traditional folk traditions in embroidery, ornaments, and styles of tailoring. This became popular with female consumers and was reenforced by the organisation of public exhibitions on traditional dress. This trend was further reenforced by sheer necessity, since due to the shortages the only possible way for many women to decorate their dresses and blouses was to apply the traditional Croatian motifs and embroidery techniques, which require minimal fabric (Figure 10).



Figure 10:
Ljerka Biškupec and a Friend, Wearing Wartime Fashions,
Photographer Unknown, 1916, Zagreb City Museum, Zagreb, Croatia, MGZ 57238.

The sartorial nationalist folk revival was further promoted by the press with its increasing condemnations of international fashion as an enemy that subverted the Croatian national identity, and that it was the duty of every patriotic lady to avoid Parisian fashions.²⁶ The press dismissed Parisian fashions as a “seduction” that promoted vanity, superficiality, and foolishness, and which destroyed the national spirit and especially subverted the cultural attitudes of young people. Women were urged to instead display strength and endurance in their attitude and appearance. Fashion magazines were even accused of being the main culprits for an alleged decrease in literacy,²⁷ and the press held up the traditional national dress as the authentic, alternative ideal to these corrupting influences.

These denunciations helped to stimulate the older nationalist discourse. Nineteenth century Croatian writer, journalist, and historian, Bogoslav Šulek (1816–1895), wrote in 1842 that folk costume should be worn as an “external sign or symbol that would manifest one’s inner sentiment,”²⁸ and harshly—and even luridly—condemned high fashion as “a wicked and malevolent distinctiveness of the Black Ghost, the initiator of all evil, sin and misfortune.”²⁹ But some went even further, such as the publicist and businessman, Milan Krešić (1844–1929), who in 1861 demanded that wearing folk costume become mandatory, arguing that people should be like birds; just as feathers are their natural covering, so Croats should likewise wear the nation’s folk costumes to express their ethnic and national affiliation.³⁰

The nationalist folk revival was not the only wartime dress trend. International fashion continued its appeal to an extent. Parisian designers revived the old crinoline silhouette with a wider, longer skirt, which was adopted by at least some Croatian women (Figure 11). While the so-called “war crinolines” were promoted by the press, the women of Zagreb also wore simple skirts that were designed without gussets. Some dresses were decorated only at the belt, and with significantly more functional pockets, a development that might have echoed the wartime trend towards greater physical functionality.

²⁶ Zvonimir Pečnjak, ed., *Ilustrovani list* [Illustrated Paper], Dionička tiskara u Zagrebu [Shareholders’ Printing House of Zagreb], Zagreb, Trojedna Kraljevina Hrvatska, Slavonija i Dalmacija [Three Kingdoms of Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia], Volume 22, Issue 49, 1915, p. 1167.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 324.

²⁸ Ljudevit Gaj, ed., *Danica horvatska, slavonska i dalmatinska* [Danica Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia], Zagreb, Austrian Empire, 1842, p. 203.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 205.

³⁰ Milan Krešić, “Moda i narodna nošnja” [Fashion and Folk Costume], *Naše gore list* [Our Neck of the Woods], Zagreb, Austrian Empire, 1861, p. 30.



Figure 11:
Wartime Crinolines, Artist Unknown, 1918.³¹

³¹ Zvonimir Pećnjak, ed., *Ilustrovani list* [Illustrated Paper], Dionička tiskara u Zagrebu [Shareholders' Printing House of Zagreb], Zagreb, Trojedna Kraljevina Hrvatska, Slavonija i Dalmacija [Three Kingdoms of Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia], Volume 20, Issue 18, 1918, p. 521.

The shape of the upper bodice became more tightly fitted and the overall tailoring was also simplified (Figure 12). Except for the traditional folk motifs, the use of decoration was in general reduced, though military uniform ornaments might be added.³² The consumption of formal gowns made of expensive fabric declined and the press even advised brides to adopt simple day dresses to wear at their weddings.³³



Figure 12:
Autumn Fashion, Artist Unknown, 1918.³⁴

³² Horizontal lines of braid echoed the full-dress hussar uniform and ornamental buttons had much military symbolism.

Author's Private Correspondence with Dr. Scott Hughes Myerly, regarding military dress, United States, 10 March 2019.

³³ Krešić, op cit.

³⁴ Pećnjak, op cit., Volume 12, Issue 8, 1918, p. 353.

This simplification of dress was part of a larger wartime evolution in the female appearance. As the First World War progressed, women shortened their hair, and the once-fashionable pre-war hats—oversized and decorated with ostrich feathers and artificial flowers—gave way to smaller hats with only minimal decoration (Figure 13).



Figure 13:
Small Wartime Hat,
Jean Patou, 1915–1918,
Paris, France,
Paper, Plastic, Cotton,
Museum of Arts and
Crafts, Zagreb, Croatia,
MUO 44344.

This trend of simplification of dress and smaller hats also reflected changes in Croatian women's roles under the pressures of war. Arčabić shows on the exhibition, *Echoes from the Battlefield: Zagreb in World War I* (2015) that women of Zagreb, as well as women throughout Europe, now carried a greater burden. Once the war began and the men departed for the battlefield, women were forced to bear greater responsibilities for their families and in the workplace. The labour shortages encouraged women to assume jobs in both industry and the public services that had previously been reserved for men. The press noted that women also became increasingly active in teaching and working for humanitarian causes. All this occurred

amidst intensive artistic, theatrical, literary, and social ferment in Zagreb, all of which tended to promote change. Like the earlier pre-war revival of folk dress, women now built on the foundation of the earlier, pre-war women's clubs that had emerged to advocate for the female pursuit of more political and economic rights. During the First World War, an initiative was launched to legally enable women to obtain the right to vote, yet it was only adopted after the Second World War on 11 August 1945.

Clothing Artefact: A Material Witness of Time

Surviving First World War women's garments from Zagreb reveal the effect of wartime on fashion. The following circa 1915 dress (Figure 14) is made of unbleached linen, sewn with cotton thread. Long and with a simple cut, this dress features long sleeves, ornamental buttons and a square neckline with a sailor's collar, the sailor suit having been very popular since before the First World War.



Figure 14:
Wartime Dress with Traditional
Decoration, Maker Unknown, 1915,
Linen and Cotton,
Museum of Arts and Crafts,
Zagreb, Croatia, MUO 23990.

The dress thus shows wartime simplicity in its limited number of gussets and a military influence in the decorative buttons; this style also appears in contemporary Zagreb studio and street photographs. But a significant addition is the use of Croatian traditional decoration, which required minimal fabric and thus adheres to the strict wartime austerity rules and the limited supplies. The *Peč* embroidery motifs utilised in the dress were adopted from Croatian folk costume. When comparing the decoration in Figure 13 to Maša Janković's 1907 design that appeared in the magazine *Domaće ognjište* [Domesticity], there is a similarity (Figure 15 and Figure 16). But unlike the white colour recommended by *Domaće ognjište* [Domesticity] in 1907, *Peč* embroidery displays vivid colours, which had revived after the earlier short-lived period of pastel decorations on wartime dress.

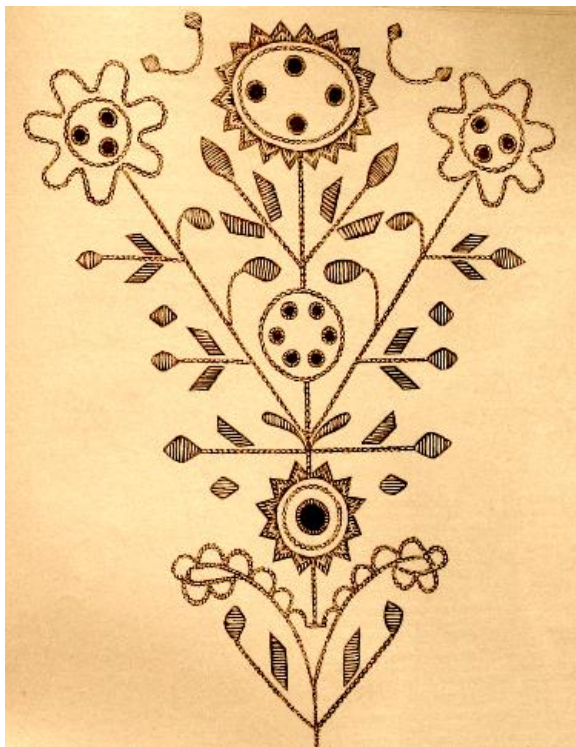


Figure 15:
Peč Embroidery Design
for a Fashion Blouse,
Designed by Maša Janković, 1907.³⁵



Figure 16:
Detail, Wartime Dress with Traditional
Decoration, Maker Unknown, 1915,
Linen and Cotton, Museum of Arts and
Crafts, Zagreb, Croatia, MUO 23990.

³⁵ Pogačić, op cit., 1907, p. 23.

This artefact (Figure 16) raises some questions that are based upon conclusions made by Giorgio Riello, who wrote:

Material culture is not the object itself (which as we saw is at the centre of dress history), but neither is it a theoretical form (which dominates the approach of fashion studies). Material culture is instead about the modalities and dynamics through which objects take on meaning (and one of these is that of fashion) in human lives.³⁶

This artefact (Figure 14 and Figure 16) is not only a beautiful dress worn by a woman, but is a key object in a specific social practice during the First World War. The question is raised: does the dress symbolise the maker's creative expression of an unwavering spirit of patriotism in a time of crisis? Any answer to this is difficult to confirm and must remain conjectural due to the current absence (to date) of such primary sources as letters, photographs, archival records, and oral traditions. The dress is of a high quality, which is shown by its well-formed and shapely cut, the precisely even seam stitches, and the harmonious decoration. It could thus be assumed that the maker was a fashionable dressmaker, though the decoration could have been applied later by the customer.

The Zagreb Museum of Arts and Crafts inventory states that the dress was donated by L. Sabljak, but unfortunately, the record does not indicate any definitive information about the owner. However, the Sabljak family was important in Croatian cultural life during the late nineteenth century and into the twentieth century, so the owner might well have been Vlasta Sabljak-Lisac, the daughter of Ida Sabljak (1882–1915). Ida was an amateur painter who was active in war work, so it could be speculated that the simplicity of the dress reflects a wartime vocation, since it is unlike the dresses of pre-war noble and wealthy bourgeois women, whose dresses were richly decorated with lace, silk braid, or other ornaments, while working girls wore undecorated dresses. Both noble and wealthy bourgeois women were very active in wartime charity work and Arčabić's analysis of the social role of women during the

³⁶ Giorgio Riello, "The Object of Fashion: Methodological Approaches to the History of Fashion," *Journal of Aesthetics & Culture*, Volume 3, Issue 1, 2011, p. 6.

First World War in Zagreb³⁷ indicates that their increasingly active political and social roles, reinforced by efforts to obtain the vote, made clothing (such as in Figure 15) appealing, and this specimen appears to be an example of that trend. This dress thus likely symbolises the owners' commitment to victory and perhaps her feelings of solidarity with the war's victims.

Conclusion

This article has highlighted the significant factors that preceded and conditioned fashion, clothing, and textile production before and during the First World War in the capital city of Zagreb in the Austro-Hungarian dominated Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia. The period of crisis generated by the First World War displaced the previously dominant, trend-setting foreign fashion houses of Paris and other European cities; however, the period also generated new roles for Croatian women, including wartime charity work, together with a new level of participation in economic life. The handiwork of women in making their own clothes included the utilisation of secondhand, substitute, and inferior materials due to the wartime shortages of textiles. These developments also helped to foster more austere and simpler styles that were more suitable to the conditions of the ongoing wartime crisis. Additionally, these women adopted and intensified the pre-war trend of using traditional, symbolic Croatian motifs as decorative ornaments to reflect their sense of nationalism and patriotism.

³⁷ Maja Arčabić, "Položaj žena u Zagrebu tijekom rata" [Women in the First World War], in Kristian Strukić, ed., *Odjeci s bojišnice—Zagreb u Prvom svjetskom ratu*, [Echoes from the Battlefield: Zagreb in the First World War], Zagreb City Museum, Zagreb, Croatia, 2015, p. 174.

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Acknowledgements

I wish to thank my editor, Dr. Scott Hughes Myerly, for his advice and support in the writing of this article.

**Creativity amidst Conflict:
The Marchesa Luisa Casati and the Avant-Garde
in Wartime Rome, 1915–1918**

Stephanie Sporn

Abstract

When the First World War broke out in 1914, the Marchesa Luisa Casati, the artistic patron and flamboyant Italian heiress who presented herself as “a living work of art,” was a legendary Venetian hostess, known for wearing extravagant dress. After Italy entered the war in May 1915, Casati fled to Rome and became a muse and advocate of an itinerant avant-garde group that transformed the city into a hotbed of cultural activity. Casati forged collaborative friendships with artists and courtiers such as Serge Diaghilev, Léon Bakst, FT Marinetti, and Pablo Picasso, contributing to the creation of revolutionary works, including *Parade* (1917), Les Ballets Russes’ radical Cubist production. Based on research from international publications and biographical works, this article illustrates the sartorial and stylistic legacy of an unconventional woman who devoted her life to art.

Introduction

As someone whose chief aspiration was to be a living work of art, the Marchesa Luisa Casati (1881–1957) had a sumptuous lifestyle that was not particularly conducive to wartime solemnity. Prior to her ascent in society as host of the grandest of fêtes, Casati enjoyed a nouveau riche upbringing. Her father had made a fortune in the Italian cotton industry. After her parents' deaths—her mother died when Casati was 13, and her father died when Casati was 15—she and her sister became two of Italy's wealthiest heiresses. Then known as Luisa Adele Rosa Maria Amman, she entered into an unhappy marriage in 1900 to the Marchese Camillo Casati Stampa di Soncino (1877–1946). Since her husband was far more preoccupied with horses and hunting than the high-society lifestyle she craved, Casati sought romance and adventure with those who admired her self-indulgent behavior. The couple divorced in 1924 after ten years of separation.¹ During her marriage, though, Casati met the great Italian writer and poet, Gabriele D'Annunzio (1863–1938), and the two discovered a mutual love of beauty and the occult. What would become a passionate, lifelong relationship, their meeting in 1903 marked Casati's transformation into a "heroine of the spectacular and bizarre."²

In Venice, D'Annunzio introduced Casati to the artist, Giovanni Boldini (1842–1931), whose 1908 portrait of Casati (Figure 1) successfully launched her into European high society. Rather than remain content as a lady of leisure, Casati moulded herself into an eccentric style icon who threw lavish affairs for which she was costumed by Paul Poiret (1879–1944) and Léon Bakst (1866–1924). She took her beloved muses, Italian princess Cristina Trivulzio (1808–1871), French actress Sarah Bernhardt (1844–1923), and the Comtesse de Castiglione (1837–1899), mistress of Emperor Napoleon III, as models for her appearance and eventually surpassed them in her exhibitionist glory. Over five decades, Casati had as many as 200 images³ made of herself in a variety of media and styles, from miniature dolls to formal busts, and cutting-edge photographs.⁴ But rather than presenting herself as a traditional beauty, Casati sought to be admired for what made her unique and entrancingly mysterious, including her height—she was six feet tall—and ghostly complexion. She also used black kohl and strips of velvet to line her eyes, which she further accentuated by

¹ Rosalind McKever, "More Than a Muse," *Apollo*, London, England, Volume 180, Issue 626, December 2014, p. 76.

² "Italy's Famous Beauty Who Lives Like a Fairy Princess," *The Washington Post*, Washington, DC, United States, 4 April 1926, p. 6.

³ McKever, op cit.

⁴ In 1926, *The Washington Post* claimed Casati was the subject of thousands of portraits, *The Washington Post*, Washington, DC, United States, 4 April 1926, p. 7.

frequent use of belladonna drops—an antiquated beauty regimen where extract from the poisonous plant of the same name would be used to dilate the pupils. This treatment would eventually impair her vision to near blindness. But most important of all was her unconventional and opulent lifestyle. Casati was described as an anti-Mona Lisa⁵ who possessed the soul of an artist.⁶ Gioia Mori, co-curator of the 2014–2015 exhibition, titled, *The Divine Marchesa*, at the Palazzo Fortuny Museum in Venice, Italy, noted that Casati’s heavily constructed, imaginative life should be regarded as a predecessor to performance art.⁷



Figure 1:
La jeune femme au lévrier
[Young Woman with Greyhound],
Giovanni Boldini, 1908,
Private Collection,
© ART Collection/Alamy Stock Photo.

⁵ Scot Ryersson and Michael Orlando Yaccarino, *Infinite Variety: The Life and Legend of the Marchesa Casati*, The University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, Minnesota, United States, 2004, p. 29.

⁶ “Lettre de Venise,” *Le Gaulois*, Paris, France, 21 October 1913, p. 4.

⁷ McKeever, op cit., p. 80.

Although Casati firmly established herself as an eccentric, early twentieth century style icon, her contribution to art history during the First World War is often overlooked. During the war, Rome became the cultural residence for such prominent names as Serge Diaghilev (1872–1929) and Pablo Picasso (1881–1973), and it was principally Casati who brought them together and ignited the relationships that created some of the most memorable productions of Les Ballets Russes, a dance company established by Diaghilev in 1909 that revolutionised the worlds of art and culture during its 20-year run. In typical Casati fashion, there were some selfish motivations for inserting herself amongst the centre of some of Europe's finest talent; for example, she was hungry for a Picasso portrait of herself. However, her activity in Rome marked an important turning point in her life. Rather than being her own chief proponent, she became a major patron of other artists across different creative disciplines. She encouraged daring, unexpected collaborations such as a Cubist ballet, and provided both monetary backing and venues for artists and entertainers to experiment with new media.

Early in her marriage, Casati's husband, Camillo, had become president of The Jockey Club in Rome, which required them to visit the city often. With his consent, she embarked on a major construction project around 1905 to build her dream home at 51, via Piemonte, near the city centre in the area known as High Rome.⁸ The property included a lush, cultivated garden and a surprisingly restrained interior, which emphasised its impressive structural elements, including intricate marble floors and a grand staircase. On the main level of the house was an intimate parlour, which would become an important site of her artistic collaboration during the war.⁹

Casati then moved her base from Rome to Venice, as she grew increasingly independent and in love with the city's romance and history, which had long been a supreme source of visual inspiration and a favoured escape for creative spirits. In 1910, Casati bought the deteriorating Palazzo Venier dei Leoni (later the home of Peggy Guggenheim whose art collection is now displayed there). In these pre-war years, Casati hosted rapturous, themed parties that were so decadent that they became fixtures of the international press. Casati possessed a trove of animals, ranging from greyhounds to cheetahs and snakes, her own gondola, and internationally renowned decorative objects. No expense was spared for her residence and parties, and her peculiar behaviour aroused the curiosity of many. For example, it was alleged that

⁸ Scot Ryerson and Michael Orlando Yaccarino, *The Marchesa Casati: Portraits of a Muse*, Abrams, New York, New York, United States, 2009, p. 39.

⁹ Ibid., p. 41.

Casati could be seen roaming Venice at night, wearing nothing but a fur coat.¹⁰ As the Baron de Meyer (1868–1946) wrote in the society section of *Vogue* in 1915, “The Marchesa Casati, at sunset, reclining in her gondola, wrapped in tiger skins and fondling her favorite leopard, is a sight to be seen only in Venice.”¹¹

The Marchesa Luisa Casati and the First World War

Casati ensured her image would be up-to-date with the latest artistic craze by commissioning artists of all backgrounds to depict her. She believed this would elevate her status and indeed it did, but portraying the Italian beauty also enlivened the artists’ reputations. A 1926 *Washington Post* article stated, “Every famous artist of her time has considered it an honor among honors to have La Casati pose for him.”¹² She was inspired by the Comtesse de Castiglione whose legacy as the most elaborately dressed woman of mid nineteenth century Paris survives in the hundreds of photographs that she directed to be taken of herself. Casati often frequented Paris for portraits, parties, and couture, but on 4 August 1914 while staying there at the celebrity-studded Ritz Hotel, her reality, and that of Europe, was about to change.

One afternoon, Casati rang for her breakfast tray and no one responded, which was surprising since the Ritz was usually so accommodating: they would even deliver live rabbits to Casati’s pet snake who accompanied her.¹³ Forced to go downstairs to investigate, Casati learned that France and Germany had declared war and that the staff had already been mobilised to join the military. Catherine Barjansky (1890–1965), a Russian sculptor who previously made a miniature wax replica of Casati, was also staying at the Ritz. In her biography, *Portraits with Backgrounds*, Barjansky recalled Casati’s shock and terror upon learning that war had officially infiltrated her frivolous existence, “Her red hair was wild. In her Bakst-Poiret dress she suddenly looked like an evil and helpless fury, as useless and lost in this new life as the little lady in wax.”¹⁴ Would the Great War ruin Casati’s untouchable status as a living work of art?

¹⁰ Ryersson and Yaccarino, op cit., 2004, p. 41.

¹¹ Baron de Meyer, “Society: The Substance of a Venetian Dream,” *Vogue*, New York, New York, United States, 15 February 1916, p. 108.

¹² “Italy’s Famous Beauty Who Lives Like a Fairy Princess,” op cit., p. 7.

¹³ Ryersson and Yaccarino, op cit., 2004, p. 66.

¹⁴ Catherine Barjansky, *Portraits with Backgrounds*, Macmillan, New York, New York, United States, 1947, p. 21.

Casati returned to Venice, but much to her dismay that city had also been overtaken by the war, which also affected those close to her. Casati's then lover and confidant D'Annunzio became a commander in the Italian Air Force and an ardent political activist; her couturier Poiret closed down his atelier to help produce military uniforms; and because Boldini was too old to join the military, he retreated to Nice, France. While several women in her inner circle entered the workforce, Casati journeyed around France and Italy, attempting to uphold her glamorous lifestyle. Judith Mackrell wrote of this period in *The Unfinished Palazzo*, that Casati's "life was not unpleasant. [Casati] was a citizen of a neutral country. She could buy her way around inconveniences and war restrictions."¹⁵ That is until May 1915 when Italy joined the war on the side of Allies, therefore prompting Casati to wait out the rest of the war at her villa in Rome. But while the war increasingly disrupted life in Venice, it brought a new energy to the Italian capital.

Because the battle lines were still distant, the population was able to enjoy an illusion of peacetime—there were no blackouts, no threats of enemy fire. And as other great cities were barricaded, rationed or bombed, some of the cultural life of Europe shifted naturally to Rome.¹⁶

Roman Collaborations and the Rise of Futurism

The following three years were extremely productive for Casati, who embarked on unique projects that would beautifully blend the worlds of music, fashion, art, and performance, as Rome became a wartime retreat and hotbed for international art and culture. While not on the unfathomable scale of her Venetian fêtes, Casati hosted parties in Rome for creative circles of people, which forged many crucial relationships. The powerful and connected Casati was particularly adept at curating her events' guest lists. But this was not the first time that she served as a patron; a few years earlier, she held a tea at her Roman villa for a young Arthur Rubinstein (1887–1982), who she had enlisted to give a private performance. The gracious pianist later noted that, "Aside from a scattering of illustrious names, she had gathered the real intellectuals, the real music lovers, the ones who are part of a concert public."¹⁷

¹⁵ Judith Mackrell, *Unfinished Palazzo: Life, Love and Art in Venice*, Thames & Hudson, London, England, 2017, p. 97.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 102.

¹⁷ Mackrell, op cit., p. 85.

In 1914, a reporter for the Parisian newspaper *Le Temps* wrote similarly of Casati's support of the great Roman poet, Cesare Pascarella (1858–1940), who was invited to Casati's Venetian home for the first reading of his new manuscript. The article reads:

The Marchesa Casati, lover of art, literature, of all that is brilliant and beautiful, has maintained in modern Italy, the Renaissance's traditions, in which the patricians would beckon elite artists and poets into their palaces and promote the blossoming of masterpieces. How many times have verses that were read at her place for the first time become known everywhere!¹⁸

The reporter likens Casati's patronage of luminaries in art, literature, and music to that of the Renaissance and praises her unparalleled ability to identify and share new talent—for many lines that were first read at her house subsequently became famous. Furthermore, Casati generously summoned “tous les artistes, poètes, littérateurs qui vivent en ce moment dans la prestigieuse cite des doges [all the artists, poets, literary writers who are currently living in the prestigious city of the Doges].”¹⁹

During the war, Casati's patronage continued to flourish, and she also served as muse to the Italian Futurists, who were then at the centre of the city's artistic life. Often viewed in a controversial light for their connection to the rising Fascist movement, the Futurists believed that the war would cleanse Italy of its ancient and irrelevant past. These artists had officially launched their revolution on 20 February 1909 with the publication in *Le Figaro* of the first “Manifesto of Futurism”²⁰ of Filippo Marinetti (1876–1944). They embraced colour, speed, machinery, and technology in an artistic flurry of abstractions and nonsensical art, similar to the genre of Dada that emerged during the war. But less commonly noticed yet important nonetheless, is that despite the political subject matter, the Futurists sought joy as well as their country's spiritual revival. At the Italian Futurists' first post-war exhibition in Milan's Cova Galleries, Marinetti's discussion on the importance of laughter and levity in the movement was noted in *Arts & Decoration*, “Think of our art as a great carnival...the Futurists are

¹⁸ La Marquise Casati, éprise d'art, de littérature, de tout ce qui est brillant et beau, a conservé, dans l'Italie moderne, les traditions de la Renaissance, où les patriciennes attiraient dans leurs palais l'élite des artistes et des poètes, et favorisaient l'éclosion des chefs-d'œuvre. Que de fois, chez elle, ont été lus pour la première fois des vers qui maintenant sont connus partout!
“Lecture de vers à Venise,” *Le Temps*, Paris, France, 22 May 1914, p. 4.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ryersson and Yaccarino, op cit., 2004, p. 77.

joyous people, even in the trenches, where they stayed until the very signing of the armistice.”²¹

While the wartime and Futurist sensibilities might seem to have been an antithesis to Casati's lavish lifestyle, its artists embraced her as “a warrior against mediocrity and convention.”²² Marinetti described Casati as one of Italy's “most original national products” with an “astounding creation of bizarre oddity and dandyism” that presented more than “all that Paris can offer.”²³ On 8 July 1917, Marinetti dedicated his *La Italia Futurista* article “Manifesto della danza futurista” [Manifesto of Futurist Dance] to Casati, and affirmed her role as an irreplaceable Futurist muse.²⁴ This work was conceived and written in Casati's Roman villa and it was also through her that Marinetti met artist Alberto Martini (1876–1954), who painted the artwork for the cover of the first issue of the Futurist periodical, *Poesia*.²⁵

Casati's homes often featured galleries and art spaces to support her creative acquaintances. For example, *The Washington Post* noted in 1926 that Casati's Parisian home, the Palais Rose, had a studio intended to be “a delightful retreat which La Casati [had] thoughtfully provided for the artists whom she often entertains.”²⁶ Her collaborative gatherings were immortalised by the 1918 painting, *Iniezione di futurism*, by leading Futurist, Giacomo Balla (1871–1958), which was one of several paintings inspired by and featuring Casati. While many Futurists were symbolised on this canvas, Casati's role in Futurism is spotlighted with her emblematic “all-seeing eye.” Her presence is further confirmed by a characteristically bold red dress and troupe of exotic animals.²⁷

In addition to personal portraits, Casati also collected other Futurist art. But in 1918 Italian journalist, Eugenio Giovannetti (1883–1951), wrote harshly about the state of Casati's collection in his gossip-oriented column “Satyricon,” as being “forgotten...dusty...hidden away...[and]... hanging like cadavers in a “dimly lit room;” yet, Giovannetti acknowledged that “in the eyes of the public at large, [Casati] is the spirit protector of all the Cubists and Futurists and avant-gardists of all colours and races.”²⁸ Despite his accusations, the genre's top artists, which included Marinetti,

²¹ “Art in Europe: Notes on the Rebirth of Art in Paris, London and Milan,” *Arts & Decoration*, New York, New York, United States, Volume 11, Issue 3, July 1919, p. 115.

²² Mackrell, op cit., p. 103.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ryersson and Yaccarino, op cit., 2004, p. 81.

²⁵ Ryersson and Yaccarino, op cit., 2009, p. 81.

²⁶ “Italy's Famous Beauty Who Lives Like a Fairy Princess,” op cit., p. 7.

²⁷ Ryersson and Yaccarino, op cit., 2009, p. 82.

²⁸ Ryersson and Yaccarino, op cit., 2004, pp. 80–81.

personally attested to the quality of many works in her collection. Indeed, Balla's portraits of Casati serve as the ultimate testimony of the Futurists' embrace of her as both muse and patron. Besides his kaleidoscopic representations of Casati, whose eyes appear amongst swirling geometric shapes, Balla also created one of the Futurist's most amusing interpretations of her. His 1915 *La marchesa Casati con gli occhi di mica e il cuore di legno* [Marchesa Casati with Eyes of Mica and a Heart of Stone], was a toy-like sculpture which epitomised the joy that was integral to Futurism. Balla constructed this as a bust of wood and cardboard, complete with black mica eyes that could be made to open and shut by turning a small heart-shaped handle (Figure 2). While this sculpture was being displayed in the Esposizione Futurista exhibition in Milan, it was also featured on the cover of the 30 March 1919 issue of the Italian periodical *Il Mondo*. Marinetti deeply admired this piece and acquired it for his personal collection.²⁹ Balla would become a textile designer after the war, and his colourful psychedelic aesthetic later inspired the renowned Italian fashion designer Emilio Pucci (1914–1992).³⁰



Figure 2:
Cover,
Il Mondo Magazine,
30 March 1919,
La marchesa Casati con gli occhi di mica e il cuore di legno
[Marchesa Casati with Eyes of Mica and a Heart of Stone],
Giacomo Balla, 1915,
© Fine Art Images/VG-Bild-Kunst
Bonn.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 78.

³⁰ Emily Braun, "Making Waves: Giacomo Balla and Emilio Pucci," *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, Routledge, Abingdon, England, Volume 20, Issue 1, 2015, pp. 67–82.

Léon Bakst, Casati, and Dress

In 1910, Casati met the American dancer, Isadora Duncan (1877–1927), who introduced Casati to Diaghilev and his Ballets Russes entourage, who were in Venice that summer, and over time Casati forged a deep connection with its costume designer, Léon Bakst.³¹ While Casati had previously been content wearing the creations of couturiers like Poiret and Mariano Fortuny (1871–1949), Bakst shared in her maximalist, aspirational sensibility and helped expand her wardrobe into the realm of costume with his bold reinterpretations of historical dress. Bakst noted that “I was born...in order to revive among my contemporaries the beautiful and fresh colour misunderstood and stifled for so long a time by people of taste.”³² Colour and geometry were hallmarks of Bakst’s aesthetic, which further illustrates the connection between Futurist fashion and art, and his designs inspired the patterns of the decorative furnishings available at Paul Poiret’s design studio, Atelier Martine.³³

In the 1996 *Sunday Times*, Colin McDowell wrote that modern fashion and the proliferation of the long, slender model could be attributed to Bakst, writing:

His hot and spicy colours had a quivering sexuality that made the current fashion for beiges, whites, greys and greens (not to mention the ubiquitous black), seem drab and unadventurous. How could it be otherwise when he had the daring to combine chrome yellow with bright blue, put cyclamen with cerise and coral pink with red?...From where else could Schiaparelli have plucked her Shocking Pink? Who else taught Diana Vreeland to mix vermilion and scarlet with such panache? Where did the 1960s black and white and the 1970s ice-lolly pinks, limes and tangerines, recently revised by Versace, come from but Bakst?³⁴

Speaking to this legacy, McDowell emphasised Bakst’s distinct aesthetic influence on high fashion and jewellery. However, many of these aesthetic qualities—geometry, abstraction and vivid colour—are also paramount in Futurist fine art. Therefore, history should not overlook the collective influence that this circle exerted on contemporary fashion. While McDowell argues that Bakst created modern fashion,

³¹ Ryersson and Yaccarino, op cit., 2004, pp. 38–39.

³² Ibid., p. 40.

³³ Colin McDowell, “Choreographer of Change; Culture,” *The Sunday Times*, London, England, 28 January 1996, p. 14.

³⁴ Ibid.

many publications cite the same for Casati; a 1926 *Washington Post* article asserted that “she is credited with the origination of more extraordinary styles of dress than even the professional creators of fashions...[and] modistes and milliners are always able to get valuable ideas by studying what she has on.”³⁵ Yet any attempt to designate one or the other as the true originator is merely a chicken-and-egg debate. Rather, Bakst and Casati exerted a simultaneous influence which transcended heritage and genre, further illustrating this powerful connection between the artist and muse during that transformative era.

When the press reviewed clothing that featured clashing colours, they would occasionally sneeringly describe it as “Futurist,”³⁶ but Bakst openly embraced this trend and used it to his commercial advantage. Already celebrated for costuming *Les Ballets Russes*, Bakst worked with fashion designers Jean-Philippe Worth (1856–1926) and Jeanne Paquin (1869–1936) for one season in 1913. In an effort to promote his collaboration with the latter, the London *Pall Mall Gazette* quoted Bakst as saying, “My ornamental effects are rather in the order of the Futurist. I wished for something frank and unconventional.”³⁷ Bakst also sought to shed his previous association with Orientalism to now portray himself as designing clothing for the modern woman. Paradoxically, however, the modern woman was not necessarily a feminine woman, since Bakst further explained, “We are marching towards the fusion of the masculine and feminine costumes—but, of course, we are not there yet.”³⁸

Casati, likewise, constantly pushed the boundaries of socially accepted gender norms as evidenced by her early embrace of Turkish trousers and cross-dressing costumes, including one that depicted Saint Sebastian in silver armour. When seen through the contemporary lens of the new millennium in which unisex fashion remains a fervent topic, Bakst and Casati were far ahead of their time. Bakst’s collaboration with the chameleon-like Casati could seamlessly fuse these opposing styles to bring his innovative designs to life (Figure 3).

³⁵ “Italy’s Famous Beauty Who Lives Like a Fairy Princess,” op cit., p. 6.

³⁶ “A New Fashion in Clothes,” *Pall Mall Gazette*, London, England, 28 March 1913, p. 4.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.



Figure 3:
Indo-Persian Dance (La Marquise de Casati), Léon Bakst, circa 1912–1913,
© Heritage Image Partnership Ltd/Alamy Stock Photo.

Casati's love of exaggerated fashion and international decorum—which at times verged on racist and fetishistic—made Bakst especially suited to design her ensembles before, during, and after the First World War, and his elite, avant-garde clientele also included the Russian dancer and stylish patron of the arts, Ida Rubinstein (1883–1960). But as Bakst's biographer, Charles Spencer wrote, for him Casati was special since "his excessive nature responded to exotic and extravagant

women, none more so than the legendary Marchesa Casati.”³⁹ Over the next decade Bakst created countless costumes for Casati, which some sources specify as numbering at least 40.⁴⁰ Many of her most frequently reproduced images depict her wearing these ensembles, namely a commedia dell’arte harlequin, a golden sun goddess, the Queen of the Night, and the armoured Saint Sebastian. *The Washington Post* noted, “La Casati’s evening toilettes always suggest the princess out of a fairy tale, so rich they are in jewels and magnificent materials.”⁴¹ In *Portraits with Backgrounds* Catherine Barjansky wrote of Casati, “The fantastic garb really suited her. She was so different from other women that ordinary clothes were impossible for her.”⁴² Casati became so synonymous with these elaborate costumes that her reality and fantasy life—and the corresponding wardrobes—tended to blur together.

Casati’s 1913 harlequin costume in particular dazzled the international press, as did her performance at a Venetian party. The night began at her palazzo, where she greeted eighteenth century clad guests while dressed in her harlequin attire. They then walked down a path lit by dozens of candelabra towards the Piazza San Marco, where after having changed she appeared in a new costume with a hoop-skirted gown of gold satin. Stories such as this would draw crowds of locals and tourists to Venice, and due to Casati’s generally positive impact on the city, Venetian officials made gracious allowances for her public displays. For an Indo-Persian party in 1913, Bakst dressed Casati in one of her favorite looks: a blue and gold ensemble with a pearl-encrusted conical headdress, long pointed slippers, and exaggerated gold nails (Figure 4).⁴³ Not only did she pay Bakst to design her costumes, but also those worn by the waiters, gondoliers, and musicians, thus transporting partygoers into the fantasyland of Casati’s boundless imagination. This vogue for Orientalist-inspired affairs and fashions also appeared at Poiret’s 1911 “Arabian Nights” party, which was inspired by Diaghilev’s ballet *Scheherazade*.

³⁹ Charles Spencer, *Leon Bakst and the Ballets Russes*, Academy Group, London, England, 1995, p. 170.

⁴⁰ Ryersson and Yaccarino, op cit., 2004, p. 41.

⁴¹ “Italy’s Famous Beauty Who Lives Like a Fairy Princess,” op cit., p. 7.

⁴² Barjansky, op cit., p.19.

⁴³ Ryersson and Yaccarino, op cit., 2004, p. 41.



Figure 4:
Paul-César Helleu, Giovanni Boldini, and Casati,
Wearing Her Indo-Persian Dance Costume, Designed by Bakst, 1913,
Collection Palazzo Fortuny, Venice, Italy, © Album/Alamy Stock Photo.

Les Ballets Russes in Rome

During 1916–1917, Diaghilev and his close associates came to live and work in Rome, where they regrouped Les Ballets Russes. Diaghilev was working on what promised to be the most astonishing production of his career, *Parade*, the world's first Cubist ballet. *Parade* had a disjointed, convoluted storyline centring around a cast of circus performers. Its sets and costumes, which were notably sculptural and cumbersome, were designed by Pablo Picasso (Figure 5).



Figure 5:

Pablo Picasso and Scene Painters Sitting on the Front Cloth for *Parade* (Les Ballets Russes) at the Théâtre du Châtelet, Paris, France, 1917, Photographed by Lachmann, © Historic Images/Alamy Stock Photo.

As the worlds of Les Ballets Russes, Picasso, and Casati became increasingly intertwined, Casati finally had the opportunity to try to secure a coveted portrait of herself by the famous Spanish artist. While her wish was never granted, Casati managed to leave a lasting impression on Picasso at the dinners and events she hosted. He later wrote about an evening where Casati was dressed in a “pearl-embroidered dress with its huge ruff as something out of an Elizabethan portrait, except that the neckline plunged below her navel.”⁴⁴ Casati also recommended Futurist artists for Les Ballets Russes collaborations, including Fortunato Depero (1892–1960). She had met him through Marinetti and admired his invention of the marionette ballet. Picasso too

⁴⁴ John Richardson, *A Life of Picasso: The Triumphant Years, 1917–1932*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, New York, United States, 2007, p. 16.

was inspired by Depero's work and enlisted him to create pieces for *Parade*. One of Casati's English friends, Gerald Tyrwhitt-Wilson (1883-1950), typically referred to as Lord Berners, helped paint the ballet's sets.⁴⁵ In a 1920 issue of the English journal, *Tatler*, Tyrwhitt-Wilson was referred to as "our Futurist musical peer," all of which further highlights the cross-fertilisation of Futurism across various disciplines.⁴⁶

Based on evidence from Diaghilev's records, it is unclear if Casati actually performed with Les Ballets Russes, but it is widely known that Diaghilev asked her to.⁴⁷ Although without formal dance training, she had a reputation that could secure an audience and her commanding presence was sure to keep the audience engrossed. Yet according to Mackrell and other authors, Casati did not accept Diaghilev's offer,⁴⁸ perhaps indicating that she had become increasingly discerning about the way in which her likeness might be used. Despite her larger-than-life aesthetic, she was known to be shy, vulnerable, and prone to tantrums, signs that contemporary historians have linked to potentially resulting from undiagnosed Asperger's syndrome.⁴⁹ Nonetheless, Casati increasingly embraced the performing arts as a patron and staged an evening of new ballets to be performed at her home, inviting Diaghilev as the guest of honour. Marinetti created two of the works in the programme, and Balla, who Casati wanted to promote as a stage designer, devised the sets and costumes.⁵⁰ These intimate performances thus allowed Casati's friends to explore new creative inclinations that transcended their usual work.

After the First World War

After the war ended in 1918, Bakst continued to dress Casati on occasion and to striking effect. Her first major public appearance in post-war Paris reprised her pre-war opulence as the "Queen of the Night" from Mozart's *The Magic Flute*, at a Bal Vénitien that was held at the Paris Opera in 1922. Bakst created an ensemble of transparent, diamond-studded harem trousers, complete with gold and silver feathers attached to her back from which hundreds of moons and stars glistened (Figure 6). The seamstresses at the Worth atelier spent three months sewing this costume, which cost 20,000 francs,⁵¹ and when she made her entrance, the press reported, "The marquise Casati had made the Venetian night her slave."⁵²

⁴⁵ Mackrell, op cit., p. 106.

⁴⁶ "The Letters of Evelyn," *Tatler*, London, England, 7 April 1920, p. 3.

⁴⁷ Ryersson and Yaccarino, op cit., 2004, p. 61.

⁴⁸ Mackrell, op cit., p. 93.

⁴⁹ Ibid., pp. 23-24, 49, 83-84, 133.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 106.

⁵¹ Ryersson and Yaccarino, op cit., 2009, p. 131.

⁵² Mackrell, op cit., p. 130.



Figure 6:

Casati as "Queen of the Night," Costume Designed by Léon Bakst, 1922, from Jean-Philippe Worth, *A Century of Fashion*, Little, Brown, and Company, Boston, Massachusetts, United States, 1928, p. 220.

After the war, Casati travelled incessantly around Europe, South America, the United States, and other countries, and these nomadic tendencies were in part a way to cope with her sister's death from the Spanish flu in 1919.⁵³ Upon returning to Rome, Casati found that the city had lost its lustre, as Les Ballets Russes were no longer there to creatively engage her artistic interests. She began spending a significant amount of time in London, perhaps drawn to the city because Les Ballets Russes had acquired a semi-permanent residence there in the autumn of 1918.⁵⁴ Casati returned to Venice before moving to Paris in the late 1920s. In the 1940s, she moved to London, where she passed away in 1957.

Conclusion

Casati's life ended in misfortune. She had gone from being one of Italy's wealthiest heiresses to becoming entirely depleted of her savings. Nonetheless, Casati left a lasting impression on the artistic and cultural world. She has been reincarnated countless in the beauty and fashion industries, most famously by John Galliano for Dior's Autumn/Winter 2007/2008 Couture collection, as well as in the fashion label, Marchesa, which is named after Casati. Her eternal self-fashioning, as well as her seminal influence on the Italian avant-garde during the First World War, have proven that whatever she touched produced an unparalleled collaboration and synergy between art, fashion, and performance.

⁵³ Ryersson and Yaccarino, *op cit.*, 2009, p. 93.

⁵⁴ Mackrell, *op cit.*, p. 109.

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Dress Economy for the British Home Front: Flora Klickmann's *Needlework Economies* (1919)

Hannah Wroe

Abstract

This article explores how dress economy practices, including mending, remaking, and home dressmaking, were presented to British women during and after the First World War, 1914–1918. Flora Klickmann, influential editor of *The Girls Own Paper and Women's Magazine*, published 12 instructional needlework books during 1910–1920 as part of the Home Art Series. Through a study of Flora Klickmann's *Needlework Economies* (1919), this article considers how women were educated to respond to the demands of wartime on the home front. After the reconstruction of examples, it is evident that although offering valuable transferable skills, Klickmann's book was a superficial attempt at economy. Challenging preconceptions of radical developments in women's domestic practices, this paper reveals the limitations of middle class needlework instruction.

Introduction

With the absence of both focus and evidence, the diversity of women's everyday domestic experiences in wartime Britain has been neglected by scholars.¹ Broad assumptions remain that women, a group often generalised and homogenised, all actively participated in the war effort.² The academic focus, however, has been on the workplace rather than on the domestic patriotic actions, such as dress economy. Despite there being more housewives than paid workers in Britain during the First World War, everyday practices on the home front have remained hidden within historiography.³ With few surviving garments and records of domestic dress economy practices, including mending, remaking, utilisation of materials, and dressmaking during and shortly after the First World War, this is an under-researched area.⁴ Therefore, it is from other sources, such as needlework instruction books, including those edited by Flora Klickmann (1867–1958), which provide insight into the cultural, political, social, and economic mood of the period.

Through a close study of Flora Klickmann's *Needlework Economies* (1919), together with supporting comparable materials, this article investigates how this editor responded to the rapid change in priorities, experience, and resources within these unsettled years. Practical investigation methods are utilised that include remaking examples from the book's patterns, materials, designs, and mending and remaking techniques, which were presented as economy practices. This article argues that although Klickmann's text did respond to a national mood of economy and presented valuable overarching methods, the text illustrated these practices through fanciful and impractical examples. This was actually a sort of "playing at economy" for the middle classes rather than a coherent response to the genuine need for economy, utility, and sustainable dress practices. Rather than being one homogenous experience, women's practices of dress economy on the British home front were also diverse. Class divisions, as is evident within Klickmann's book, influenced how dress economy

¹ Maggie Andrews and Janis Lomas, "Introduction," in Maggie Andrews and Janis Lomas, eds., *The Home Front in Britain: Images, Myths and Forgotten Experiences since 1914*, Palgrave MacMillan, Basingstoke, England, 2014, pp. 1–5.

² Ibid.

³ Karen Hunt, "A Heroine at Home: The Housewife on the First World War Home Front," in Maggie Andrews and Janis Lomas, eds., *Home Front in Britain: Images, Myths and Forgotten Experiences since 1914*, Palgrave MacMillan, Basingstoke, England, 2014, p. 74.

⁴ Lucie Whitmore, "Fashion in 1918: Manifestations of Austerity on the British Home Front," Paper Presented at The International Conference of Dress Historians, *Dress and War: Clothing and Textiles at Home and Abroad during the First World War Era, 1910–1920*, Convened by The Association of Dress Historians at The Art Workers' Guild, London, England, 26 October 2018.

education was presented and, in turn, practiced. This article illuminates the reality of dress economy education and practices that were presented to middle class women in wartime Britain.

Flora Klickmann

Born in London, England, in 1867, Flora Klickmann was a prolific journalist, editor, and author who published 52 books in her lifetime (Figure 1). All of her needlework books were published through Girl's Own Press or The Religious Tract Society. Klickmann is principally recognised for her successful modernisation and global expansion of *The Girl's Own Paper and Women's Magazine* where she held a position of considerable influence as editor during 1908–1932.⁵ Advertisements marketed the magazine to “Girls and Women of the Middle and Upper Classes,”⁶ and Forrester cites its readership at 250,000 per month.⁷



Figure 1:
Frontispiece,
Portrait of Flora Klickmann,
Photographer Unknown,
Flora Klickmann,
The Flower-Patch among the Hills,
The Religious Tract Society,
London, England, 1916,
© Lutterworth Press,
Cambridge, England.

⁵ David Lazell, *Flora Klickmann and her Flower Patch: The Story of The Girl's Own Paper*, Flower Patch Magazine, Bristol, England, 1976, p. 24.

⁶ Flora Klickmann, ed., *The Home Art Book of Fancy Stitchery*, The Office of the Girl's Own Paper and Women's Magazine, London, England, 1912, p. 118.

⁷ Wendy Forrester, *Great-Grandma's Weekly: A Celebration of The Girl's Own Paper, 1880–1901*, Lutterworth Press, London, England, 1980, p. 14.

In 1912 Klickmann launched *Stitchery: A Quarterly Supplement to The Girl's Own Paper and Women's Magazine*. From the outbreak of the First World War, Klickmann used these multiple platforms to promote women's new roles and responsibilities, encouraging them to "play their part" by volunteering, participating in war work, managing their homes effectively, and contributing to the war effort by knitting and sewing for the troops. Dress economy was part of this education. The impact of Klickmann's editorship within the British periodical press has been well considered,⁸ but there has been little reference or analysis of the 12 home instruction needlework texts written under her Home Art Series during 1912–1922 (Figure 2). The longevity of her career and the cultivation of a global audience place Klickmann as a key influencer within this turbulent period.

Dress Economy: A National Conversation

Women's lives on the British home front were markedly shaped by war as domestic roles and responsibilities within and beyond the home were stretched and redefined. These experiences, however, varied depending on class, location, and wealth.⁹ Although food was rationed from 1918, the supply of clothing and fabric, despite the shortages of materials, remained uncontrolled.¹⁰ In the domestic sphere, middle and upper class women who had previously run a household supported by multiple staff increasingly faced the practical realities of household management, as domestic servants departed for better paid work.¹¹ Women also faced steep inflation, and labour and materials became scarce.¹² A man's white shirt, for example, is cited by Klickmann

⁸ See: Alison Enever, "'How the Modern Girl Attains Strength and Grace:' The Girl's Own Paper, Sport and the Discipline of the Female Body, 1914–1956," *Women's History Review*, Volume 25, Issue 5, 2015, pp. 662–680.

Kristine Moruzi, *Constructing Girlhood through the Periodical Press, 1850–1915*, Routledge, Abingdon, England, 2012.

Kristine Moruzi, and Michelle Smith, "'Learning What Real Work...Means:' Ambivalent Attitudes Towards Employment in *The Girl's Own Paper*," *Victorian Periodicals Review*, Volume 43, Issue 4, Winter 2010, pp. 429–445.

⁹ Maggie Andrews, "Ideas and Ideals of Domesticity and Home in the First World War," in Maggie Andrews, and Janis Lomas, eds., *The Home Front in Britain: Images, Myths and Forgotten Experiences since 1914*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, England, 2014, p. 7.

¹⁰ Trevor Wilson, *The Myriad Faces of War*, Polity Press, Cambridge, England, 1988, pp. 648–649.

¹¹ Adrian, Gregory, *The Last Great War: British Society and the First World War*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, England, 2008, p. 213.

¹² Peter Dewey, *War and Progress: Britain, 1914–45*, Routledge, Abington, England, 1996, pp. 31–32.

as being treble the pre-war price by 1919.¹³ In 1917, she wrote in an editorial, titled, "Patriotism and Patching" that "Every right-minded woman is striving to make her clothes last twice or three times as long as they did in times of peace."¹⁴ Pre-war clothing production had relied on the importation of materials and dyes from Europe, but this source also diminished.¹⁵ Factories prioritised making uniforms for the troops; therefore, the availability of ready-to-wear clothing was restricted and more expensive.¹⁶

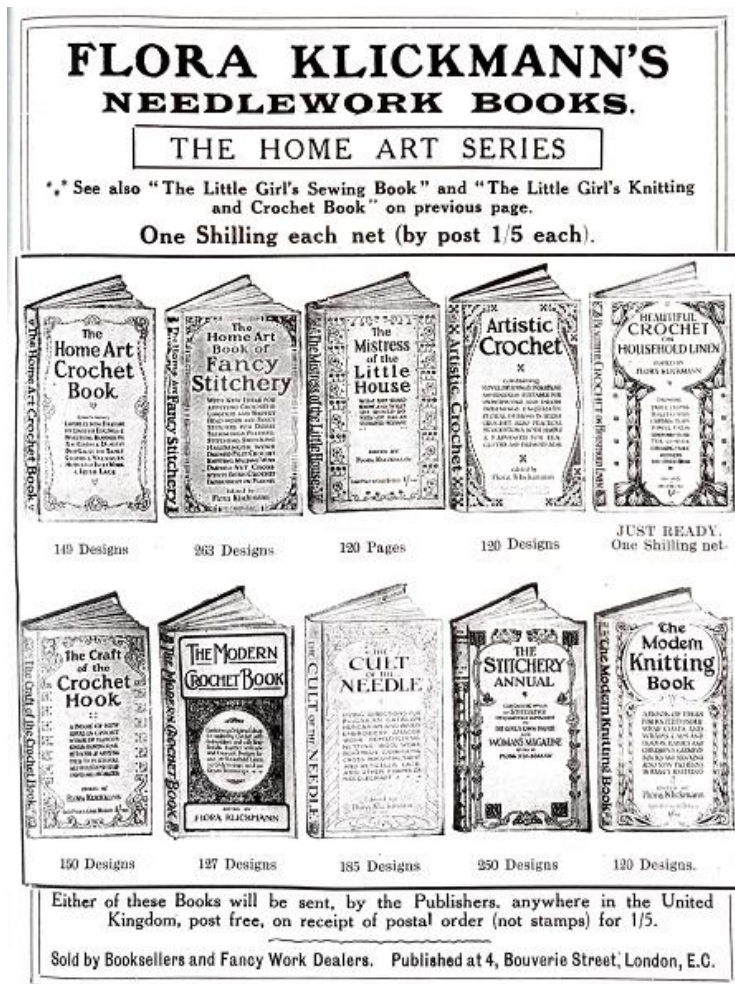


Figure 2:
Advertisement,
Flora Klickmann's
Needlework Books:
The Home Art Series,
Stitchery Annual, Volume 5,
The Office of
The Girl's Own Paper and
Women's Magazine,
London, England,
1917, p. ii,
© Lutterworth Press,
Cambridge, England.

¹³ Flora Klickmann, ed., *Needlework Economies: A Book of Making and Mending with Oddments and Scraps*, The Office of The Girl's Own Paper and Women's Magazine, London, England, 1919, p. 27.

¹⁴ Flora Klickmann, "Patriotism and Patching," in Flora Klickmann, ed., *Stitchery Annual, Volume 5*, The Office of The Girl's Own Paper and Women's Magazine, London, England, 1917, p. 169.

¹⁵ Flora Klickmann, "The Editor's Page," in *The Girl's Own Paper and Women's Magazine Annual xxxvi*, The Religious Tract Society, London, England, 1915, pp. 44-46.

¹⁶ Wilson, op cit., pp. 216-217.

Economy in relation to dress and needlework was not a new conversation. Many women, particularly in the working classes, had, through economic necessity, shown resourcefulness with dress. Contemporaneous texts such as The Butterick Publishing Company's 1911 book, *The Dressmaker: A Complete Book on All Matters Connected with Sewing and Dressmaking from the Simplest Stitches to the Cutting, Making, Altering, Mending, and Caring for Clothes*,¹⁷ included economy practices such as remodelling and dying garments as a way to respond to changing fashion silhouettes. While working at Ward, Lock & Co. Ltd in 1900, Klickmann edited *How to Dress: A Handbook for Women of Modest Means*,¹⁸ a guide for the lower middle class woman to attain social acceptance by adhering to sartorial norms while on a budget. Due to changing household structures, limited access to materials, and less time available, women faced the ongoing challenge of how to dress themselves and their families to meet practical needs and societal expectations during these years. As the war progressed, economising through remodelling, mending, and home dressmaking, which had previously been a choice to many middle and upper class women, became both an act of patriotism and a stark necessity. Additionally, Klickmann advocated the power of making clothing as a tonic for those feeling overwhelmed by the experience of war.¹⁹

By 1918, the nation was experiencing severe material shortages due to the German submarine war on British shipping.²⁰ A number of national educational initiatives were launched to help women utilise various materials to achieve affordable clothing. In London, for example, Mrs. Allan Hawkey held The Economy Dress Exhibition, which offered demonstrations of her innovative dress design, "The National Standard Dress" (Figure 3). "The National Standard Dress," advocated by Hawkey, was an adaptable dress pattern that could be made in multiple ways and utilised only four yards of material. Hawkey's Exhibition of War Economy Dress also featured exhibits from the preceding decades to illustrate the previous unnecessary frivolity.²¹ Throughout 1919, newspapers such as the *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer* advertised wartime "Government Linen," which could be dyed and used for

¹⁷ Anon, *The Dressmaker: A Complete Book on All Matters Connected with Sewing and Dressmaking from the Simplest Stitches to the Cutting, Making, Altering, Mending, and Caring for Clothes*, The Butterick Publishing Company, New York, New York, United States, 1911.

¹⁸ Flora Klickmann, ed., *How to Dress; A Handbook for Women of Modest Means*, Ward, Lock & Co. Limited, London, England, 1900.

¹⁹ Flora Klickmann, "The Editor's Page," *The Girl's Own Paper and Women's Magazine Annual xxxvii*, The Religious Tract Society, London, England, 1916, pp. 426–427.

²⁰ Wilson, op cit., p. 431.

²¹ Anon, "Ladies War Dresses," *Western Mail*, Cardiff, Wales, 19 March 1918, p. 2.

dressmaking.²² Additionally, such magazines as *The Girl's Own Paper* and *Women's Magazine* published articles that included "A Dress You Can Make in Six Ways" (January 1918), "Transforming a Plain Frock" (July 1918), "Making the Most of Old Clothes" (November 1918), and "Making Clothes Wear Twice as Long" (December 1918). These provided readers with inspiration and practical instruction to better utilise their existing wardrobe.



Figure 3:
Poster,
Exhibition of
War Economy Dress,
© Imperial War
Museum,
London, England,
3–31 August 1918,
Q 79964.

²² Advertisement, Leonard J. Martin, "Government Linen," *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*, Leeds, England, 10 December 1919, p. 10.

Needlework Economies

Published in 1919, *Needlework Economies* is a significant text within the Home Art Series, with advertisements that refer to “Flora Klickmann’s World Famous Needlework Books” as having sold more than 350,000 copies worldwide (Figure 4).²³ Through them, Klickmann positioned herself as the leading expert in the field. Initially launched to offer home instruction to enable women to develop needlework skills, the Series became much more significant as wartime refocused needlework as a way for women to economically support their households.

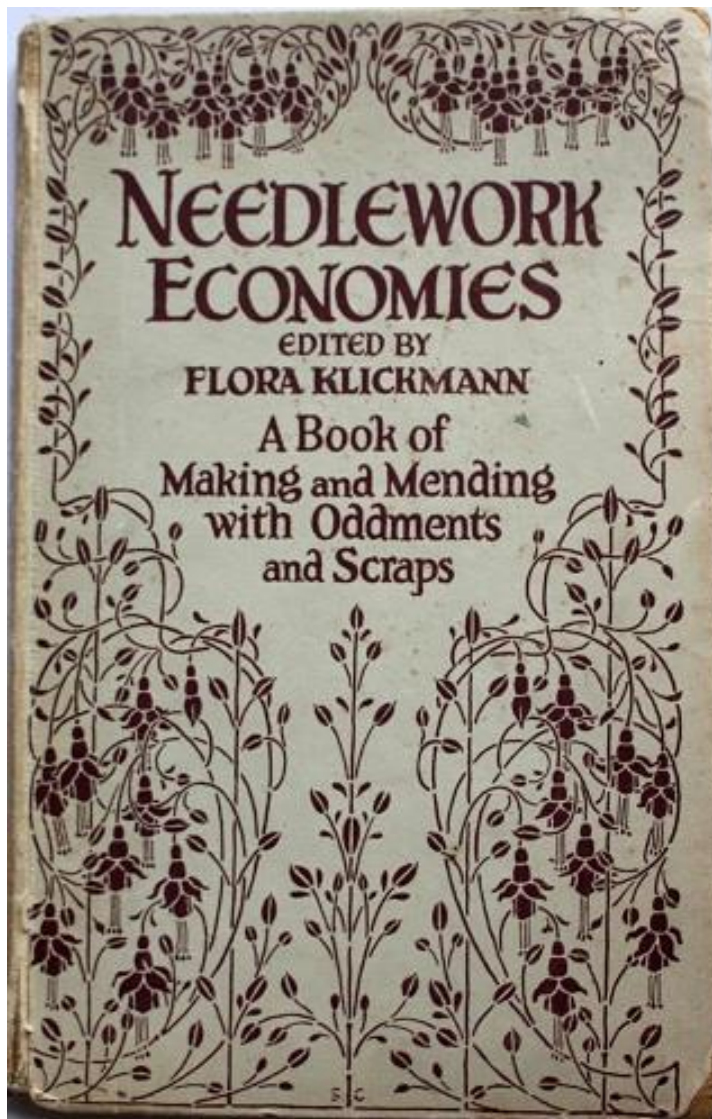


Figure 4:
Cover,
Flora Klickmann, ed.,
*Needlework Economies:
A Book of Making and
Mending with Oddments
and Scraps*,
The Office of
The Girl’s Own Paper
and Women’s Magazine,
London, England, 1919,
© Lutterworth Press,
Cambridge, England.

²³ Flora Klickmann, ed., *Stitchery Annual, Volume 8*, The Office of The Girl’s Own Paper and Women’s Magazine, London, England, 1919, p. 2.

The articles were sourced from *The Girl's Own Paper and Women's Magazine* and from *Stitchery* articles published during 1913–1919, particularly the special April 1919 *Stitchery* “Economy Issue.”²⁴ When compared to other books from the Series (often utilising articles from only the previous 12 months), this was a much broader timeframe from which articles were selected. Although there was a long tradition of serialisation within magazines, what is notable is the extent to which Klickmann republished and repackaged articles, which also made her known to a wide global audience,²⁵ and *Needlework Economies* alone includes 19 advertisements for her other publications. This represents a clear shift in focus from the earlier “fancywork” instruction to directly respond to the national need for economy, by showing women how to utilise different materials and garments.

Klickmann reflected on the pre-war zeitgeist as wasteful and extravagant. The opening lines of the preface (originally part of a longer editorial in the January 1918 *Stitchery*) read:

War is a hard, stern teacher, and its lessons are bitter in the learning; yet some of its teaching we boldly needed—and not the least important of its many lessons is the one it inculcated on the criminality of waste.²⁶

This is the only book within the Home Art Series to include a preface, and Klickmann used it as a moralistic and patriotic rhetorical platform to promote and justify economy practices. She presented the text as a guide for women to develop economy skills and also to potentially make an additional income, offering practical suggestions that could be developed further by the reader.

At 112 pages long, *Needlework Economies* includes 43 instructional examples in two sections, “Dress Economies” and “Household Economies and Fancy Finishes,” on how to utilise materials efficiently, refurbish garments, and to make them at home at reduced cost. Of the 43 articles, 21 were for women’s dress, six for children, five for men, and 11 addressed household items including a patchwork toilet runner, a

²⁴ Flora Klickmann, “Stitchery, No. 27,” in *The Girl's Own Paper and Women's Magazine Annual xl*, The Religious Tract Society, London, England, 1919, p. 389.

²⁵ Margaret Beetham, and Kay Boardman, eds., *Victorian Women's Magazines: An Anthology*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, England, 2001, p. 4.

²⁶ Klickmann, *Needlework Economies*, p. 1. First published in Flora Klickmann, ed., *Stitchery Annual, Volume 6*, The Office of The Girl's Own Paper and Women's Magazine, London, England, 1918, p. 55.

rosebud handkerchief box, and knitted blankets. The “Household Economies and Fancy Finishes” section refers less to utility and function and more to enhancing the aesthetics of personal items, including instructions for producing novelty handbags and a beaded necklace made from broken crockery and sealing wax.²⁷ Construction methods varied, with 26 articles on sewing, 10 on knitting, and six on crocheting. But by far the biggest category was the sewn women’s garments, including aprons, slippers, and blouses. Home dressmaking was presented as an economical, “delightful pastime” and if made well (a caveat for all home dressmaking), a higher quality of finish could be attained than was available commercially.²⁸ But beyond the rhetoric, it is important to consider the actual ineffectiveness of these instructions. While the instructions promoted useful transferable skills, the actual published examples, as the following practical investigation demonstrates, offered questionable advice and often required a significant existing level of skill.

Remaking Methodology

Becoming one of Klickmann’s students, albeit a century later, to actually make the clothing, was a natural approach to investigate this technical instruction book. The process of remaking and engaging with dress materials facilitated a deeper understanding of this book, but also raised questions and offered insights into Klickmann’s motivations, the intended audience, and the book’s usefulness. Remaking as a methodology is feasible, yet any attempt to do so is not without historiographical limitations and requires contextual scholarly consideration.²⁹

It is impossible to remake exact replicas since the precise circumstances, educational experience, skill levels, and understanding of an historical period will always remain somewhat elusive. Compromises, assumptions, and educated guesses must be made in an attempt to expose and eliminate any contamination with modern approaches. With this in mind, I systematically kept a “making journal” of my personal reflections and the processes and actions I used, and also recorded the time that each project required. This approach enabled me as clearly as possible to identify when I was drawing on my existing skills—which include training in made-to-measure womenswear, pattern cutting, and manufacture—since it was essential to record and differentiate between Klickmann’s instructions and how I interpreted them.

²⁷ Ibid., *Needlework Economies*, pp. 98–112.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 59.

²⁹ Hillary Davidson, “Reconstructing Jane Austen’s Silk Pelisse, 1812–1814,” *Costume*, Volume 49, Number 2, 2015, p. 218.

I believe my skill levels are higher than most of Klickmann's readership, and therefore concluded that my own frustrations and struggles undoubtedly reflected those of her readers. These projects involved a significant investment of time and required significant sewing skills. Other important considerations included sourcing comparable materials and utilising period-appropriate manufacturing processes. Through referencing contemporaneous dressmaking texts, such as *Weldon's Dressmaker and Cutter* (1918), it was possible to remake period details such as the waist taping.³⁰ I wanted to maintain Klickmann's economy approach by purchasing as little as possible, while using materials that were as authentic as possible, and this was a continual reflective process. When, for example, the period recycled silk I had intended to use proved unsuitable, I reevaluated and amended my parameters to use remnant silk from my own wardrobe. Since sewing is a slow process, this gave me time to better understand the context of these century-old instructions and to question how and what was being taught.

Efficient Use of Materials: A Pleated Work Apron

"Three Pretty Aprons" was the first of the three projects I made, which were derived from prototypes Klickmann had been sent from Italy and which had delighted her, and so were included as patterns in *Needlework Economies*.³¹ A Pleated Work Apron is made from 30" wide zephyr (fine cotton gingham) with a contrasting material. I was unable to source this actual fabric; therefore, after some investigation and sampling I used a cotton gingham that was slightly heavier in weight, though this unavoidably affected the drape of the pleats. The layout of the pattern used the entire width of the materials, which makes an efficient, waste-free lay plan (Figure 5), and this is typical of that era's dress since due to the high cost of fabric. Shirt patterns were also designed to utilise all available material.³²

³⁰ Anon, *Weldon's Dressmaker & Cutter*, Weldon's Ltd, London, England, 1918, p. 42.

³¹ Klickmann, op cit., *Needlework Economies*, pp. 11-12.

³² Ninya Mikhaila, and Jane Malcolm-Davis, *The Tudor Tailor: Reconstructing Sixteenth Century Dress*, Batsford, London, England, 2006, p. 16.

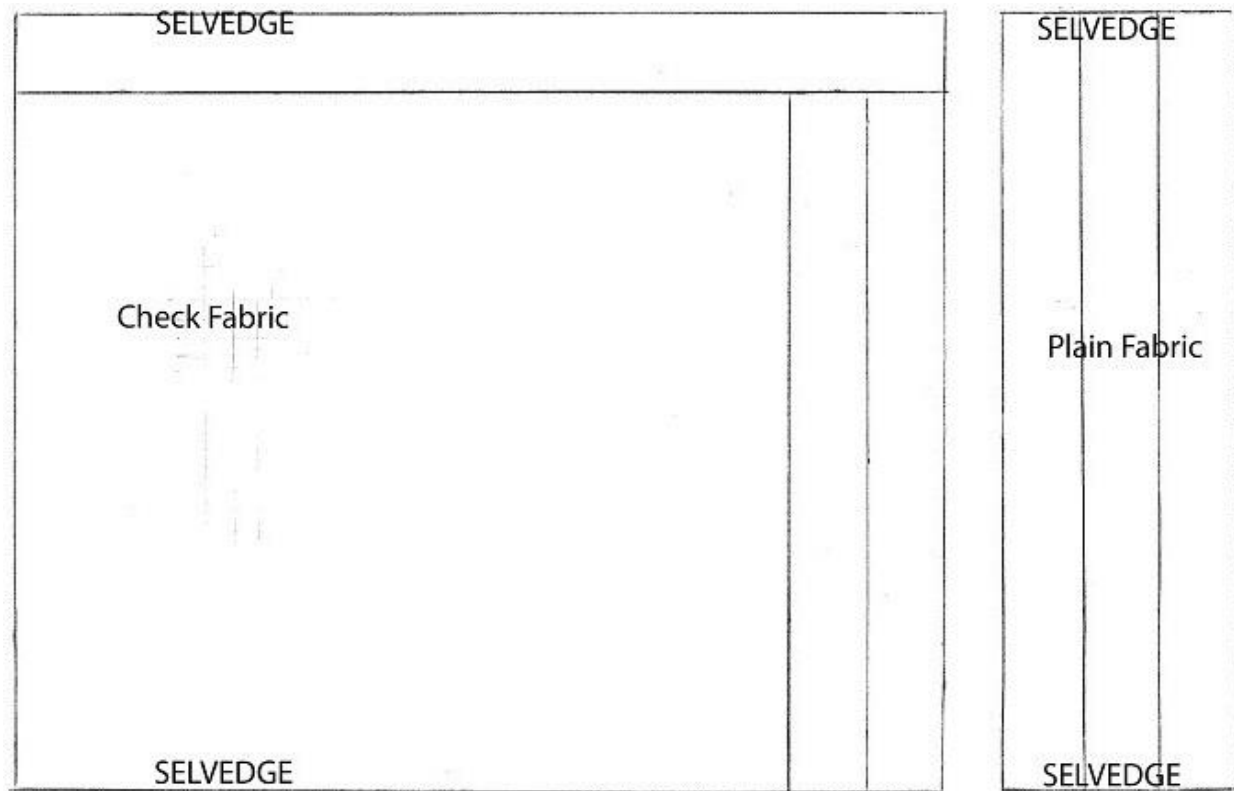


Figure 5:
Lay Plan for Pleated Work Apron,
Illustration by Hannah Wroe, 5 November 2018,
Lincoln, England, © Hannah Wroe.

The final instruction was to press in the 12 vertical pleats to add shaping, but it took 20 minutes to iron in the pleats, which constitutes a high level of upkeep for an apron (Figure 6 and Figure 7). Also, the title of “work apron,” however, is disingenuous since the apron is more decorative than of practical domestic utility, and although the pattern is economical, this is not a purposeful design. Without waist ties, when anything is put into the pockets, the apron is pulled forward. Garment functionality can only be evaluated if it is made and worn, and it was only by making an actual reproduction that its limitations became identifiable.



Figure 6:
A Pleated Work Apron, *Needlework Economies*, Flora Klickmann, ed.,
The Office of The Girl's Own Paper
and Women's Magazine,
London, England, 1919, p. 12,
© Lutterworth Press,
Cambridge, England.



Figure 7:
Replica 1919 Pleated Work Apron,
Made by Hannah Wroe,
August 2018,
Photographed by Hannah Wroe,
5 November 2018,
Lincoln, England,
© Hannah Wroe.

Mending: The Use and Abuse of Gloves

This instruction shows the reader how to mend a glove that is worn out between the fingers, and how to replace a thumb piece.³³ The instructions states, “Next to the fingers, the thumb is the worst problem. I find that opening carriage doors has an unfortunate knack of splitting a glove, where the thumb joins the palm.”³⁴ Such examples reveal the presumed socio-economic status of the reading audience, since gloves were an essential yet expensive part of a lady’s wardrobe.³⁵ A July 1918 article, for example, in *The Girl’s Own Paper and Women’s Magazine*, titled, “A Simple Trousseau for a Present Day Bride,” advises purchasing six pairs of good wash gloves with outside stitching. Wash gloves were described in contemporary literature as “fabric gloves which resemble suede, and are cut on the same lines as fine kid gloves.”³⁶ Additionally, brides were advised to purchase two pairs of doeskin or buckskin for ordinary wear, four pairs of white calling gloves, and two pairs of black suede gloves for town wear, making a total of 14 pairs, not including evening gloves.

This glove repair was a really difficult mend to execute neatly on kid leather. When this delicate material is pierced with a needle, it has a tendency to rip. The advice was to unpick the damaged thumb threads, but from being both ripped and stretched, the instructions did not provide an accurate pattern from which to cut out the suggested chamois leather replacement (Figure 8). The differences in stretch between the two leathers made the attempt to duplicate the machinemade finish with hand stitching most challenging. The dexterity required to manipulate and neatly sew evenly spaced buttonhole stitches, and then to position the new thumb piece correctly, made this an awkward and challenging five hours.

Darning between the fingers was also very difficult and the real durability of this mend is doubtful (Figure 9). Throughout these mending practices I had to draw upon my existing prior knowledge of glovemaking, rather than following Klickmann’s instructions. Mending is a slow and skilful process, and in wartime Britain, time was a valuable commodity. These were skills that women would also have had to learn quickly to succeed, but it would have required a skilled seamstress to mend a glove to an acceptable finish. The article concludes with instructions of how to put on and take off a glove correctly, which is sensible since prudent prevention is much easier than mending.

³³ Klickmann, op cit., *Needlework Economies*, pp. 18-19.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 18.

³⁵ Valarie Cumming, *Gloves*, B.T Batsford Ltd, London, England, 1982, pp. 76-78.

³⁶ Anon, “Short Lengths for the Ad-Man,” *Merchants Record and Show Magazine*, Chicago, Illinois, United States, August 1913, p. 73.



Figure 8:
Mended Glove Thumb Sample,
Made by Hannah Wroe,
August 2018,
Photographed by Hannah Wroe,
5 November 2018,
Lincoln, England,
© Hannah Wroe.



Figure 9:
Mended Glove Finger Sample,
Made by Hannah Wroe,
August 2018,
Photographed by Hannah Wroe,
5 November 2018,
Lincoln, England,
© Hannah Wroe.

The Reuse of Materials: Keeping Out of the Wind

Individual authors were uncredited within *Needlework Economies* and the Home Art Series. *Keeping Out of the Wind*, which includes a design for a motoring jacket lined with kid leather gloves, was first published in *Stitchery* in January 1916 (Figure 10),³⁷ but Norma May Henshaw's authorship was identified only when it had appeared in the April 1915 *The Girl's Own Paper and Women's Magazine* as part of Henshaw's series, *The Clothing Calendar*, which Klickmann commissioned as a new dress economy series in response to the outbreak of war.³⁸ Klickmann promoted Henshaw—who cooked, travelled, managed her own home, and made most of her own clothes—as a role model for young middle class women and as “a girl who practices the upmost economy.”³⁹ The design for this motoring jacket was inspired by a waistcoat pattern from “Reliable Paper Patterns,” from *The Girl's Own Paper and Women's Magazine* paper pattern company. Evidently, Klickmann headed up a “one stop shop” for the home dressmaker by defining fashionable style, educating readers in dressmaking and needlework skills, and offering patterns to purchase.



Figure 10:
 Motoring Waistcoat Illustration,
Stitchery Annual, The Office of The Girl's Own
 Paper and Women's Magazine, London, England,
 Volume 4, 1916, p. 85,
 © Lutterworth Press, Cambridge, England.

³⁷ Klickmann, op cit., *Needlework Economies*, pp. 45–46. First published in Flora Klickmann, ed., *Stitchery Annual*, Volume 4, The Office of The Girl's Own Paper and Women's Magazine, London, England, 1916, pp. 83–85.

³⁸ Flora Klickmann, “The Editor's Page,” in *The Girl's Own Paper and Women's Magazine Annual* Volume xxxvi, The Religious Tract Society, London, England, 1915, p. 755.

³⁹ Ibid.

Making this motoring waistcoat is a means of economy that was reserved for the leisured classes. It is difficult to justify the economy of lining a flannel interlayer with kid leather gloves before covering and lining it with silk, although she does suggest repurposing silk from a used skirt. This project required nine pairs of leather gloves and 19 hours to make (Figure 11). With a pair of two-buttoned leather gloves advertised at 8 shillings and 6 pence in 1918, which is the equivalent of £25.07 in 2018,⁴⁰ this was an expensive item.⁴¹ This garment was intended to be worn under an outer coat, and alternative examples, using the same technique, were provided for chest protectors for women with “weak” chests, and for fur tipped velvet stoles.⁴²



Figure 11:
Unpicked Kid Leather
Gloves Ready to Sew to
the Interlining of
Replica 1919 Motoring
Waistcoat, July 2018,
Photographed by
Hannah Wroe,
18 July 2018,
Lincoln, England,
© Hannah Wroe.

⁴⁰ Currency Convertor, <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency-converter>, Accessed 19 November 2018.

⁴¹ Advertisement, “C.G.N. Gloves of All Kinds,” *Sunderland Daily Echo and Shipping Gazette*, Sunderland, England, 26 November 1918, p. 1.

⁴² Klickmann, *op cit.*, *Needlework Economies*, p. 46.

The 1916 “Clothing Calendar” article provided a hand-drawn illustration of the design (Figure 10), but with no surviving pattern, I had to interpret the illustration and again refer to *Weldon’s Dressmaker & Cutter* (1918) to inform the pattern shape.⁴³ Additionally, for construction processes such as the waist shaping and edge cording detail, I used articles from *Stitchery*, such as “Cording and Binding.”⁴⁴ But due to the bulky nature of the gloves, which were difficult to lay flat, I had to change the weight of silk for the outer layer to be able to produce an aesthetically pleasing finish. I was unable to use repurposed fabric. The silk top layer and lining does make the waistcoat feel like a luxury garment, while the leather glove interlining provides substantial weight (Figure 12 and Figure 13). But a woman struggling to keep up with the time-consuming demands of wartime work, such as provisioning, cooking, cleaning, and childcare, would be unlikely to want to devote 19 hours to making such an item. Alternatively, any woman with the required stash of worn gloves would in all probability be living a comfortable enough lifestyle that would not required her having to devote so much time to a project such as this motoring jacket. This is yet another example of a garment pattern not aligning with its economy premise.



Figure 12:
Interior,
Replica 1919
Motoring Jacket,
Made by Hannah Wroe,
August 2018,
Photographed by
Hannah Wroe,
2 August 2018,
Lincoln, England,
© Hannah Wroe.

⁴³ Weldon, op cit., pp. 27–30.

⁴⁴ Anon, “Cording and Binding,” in Klickmann, ed., *Stitchery Annual, Volume 4*, 1916, pp. 138–139.



Figure 13:
Exterior,
Replica 1919
Motoring Jacket,
Made by Hannah Wroe,
August 2018,
Photographed by
Hannah Wroe,
2 August 2018,
Lincoln, England,
© Hannah Wroe.

Preventative Mending and Approaches to Needlework Education

Two articles included within Klickmann's *Needlework Economies* look at domestic economy in a “long view” context by advocating prevention and educational approaches. “The Wisdom of Preventative Mending” first appeared in the October 1913 issue of *Stitchery*, and the article advised readers to reinforce garments at their weak points, such as by adding additional stitches to the buttons and under the sleeves.⁴⁵ Initially written as a response to the poor quality of ready-to-wear goods and that most women were also too busy working to attend dress fittings, the article, “The Day of the Ready-Mades” urged women to develop purposeful skills to ensure that the quality and fit of their clothing was not lost, as follows.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Klickmann, op cit., *Needlework Economies*, pp. 41–45. First published in Flora Klickmann, ed., *Stitchery Annual, Volume 2*, The Office of The Girl's Own Paper and Women's Magazine, London, England, 1913, pp. 19–22.

⁴⁶ Klickmann, op cit., *Needlework Economies*, p. 42.

A shop-bought costume that doesn't fit, however, isn't cheap at any price. Learn, therefore to make alterations in the most common sense and practical fashion, and take preventative measures, before the garment is worn for the first time, to overcome the little deficiencies that we may expect to discover in "ready-mades."⁴⁷

This article thus urged women to take an active role in preserving the quality of their clothing, and envisaged that through an engagement with preventative mending practices, that women would improve their taste, acquire the knowledge necessary to be able to demand better made clothes, and also to change how they valued and cared for their dress. Here, Klickmann was reusing her pre-war narrative regarding the impact of changes in dress production, and through its inclusion within *Needlework Economies*, reframed them as a dress economy skills set, which was necessitated by the demands of the First World War.

Yet, the article, "A Practical Way to Teach Girls Dressmaking" was also a manifesto calling on all girls to be trained in dressmaking skills (Figure 14),⁴⁸ and with such training women would have been able to contribute usefully to the war effort. The suggested illustrated lesson recommended that to engage with and to make the subject relevant, all girls should make a dress for themselves rather than making mere samples (the standard educational model).⁴⁹ By including this article within *Needlework Economies*, Klickmann thus framed these domestic skills in relation to women fulfilling their societal duty, to care, mend, and create clothing to benefit both the family and the state in time of war.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid., pp. 53–58. First published in Flora Klickmann, ed., *Stitchery Annual, Volume 5*, The Office of The Girl's Own Paper and Women's Magazine, London, England, 1917, pp. 31–36.

⁴⁹ Discussed in Jane A. Fleming, *Common-Sense Needlework*, EJ Arnold & Son, Ltd, Leeds, England, 1912, pp. 1–6.

For examples of school samplers, see Agnes Walker, *Needlework and Cutting Out*, Blackie & Son, London, England, 1897, pp. 278–279.



Figure 14:
 "Taking the Measurements," Flora Klickmann, ed., *Needlework Economies*,
 The Office of The Girl's Own Paper and Women's Magazine,
 London, England, 1919, p. 55, © Lutterworth Press, Cambridge, England.

Reflections on the Author-Reader Relationship

As I undertook the sewing projects in this book, I experienced a range of emotions, from the satisfaction of mending a glove thumb piece to the frustration of following text-heavy instructions without the benefit of any illustrations, which I believe Klickmann's intended readership would have also experienced. What became apparent was that mending and remaking are often difficult to execute successfully, and also take even longer than making garments from scratch. *Needlework Economies* was not for the novice; it was written with the unstated presumption that readers already had a prior knowledge of dressmaking, mending processes, and the relevant terminology. But through an immersion and engagement with these dress economy practices, I acquired a deeper appreciation of clothing materials and garments. Practices such as unpicking a glove thumb piece for two hours would encourage the readership to develop an economy mind set and to better appreciate how to treat their clothing, and, in so doing, become more resourceful.

Klickmann as Editor

Although Klickmann was in a powerful position as editor, she had to ensure that she responded adequately to the pace of wartime change and the requirements of her commercial stakeholders.⁵⁰ The limitations of *Needlework Economies* are explained by the need to produce relevant and saleable content that aligned with her own vision, the demands of her publishers, and the interests of her readership's broad mother-daughter readerships. Yet her method of repurposing her editorials and articles limited the true usefulness of this book, and consequently Klickmann was unable to respond effectively to the impact of wartime material austerity. While her articles could not adequately incorporate the dramatic changes in the motivations, understandings, and necessities of the wartime economy, Klickmann used her editorials in *The Girl's Own Paper and Women's Magazine* and *Stitchery* as a platform to encourage economic practice and to promote dress economy as moral and patriotic actions, which were also promoted in the preface to *Needlework Economies*. The pace of production, however, does not excuse the actual editorial choices she made and her lack of a coherent and effective response to wartime dress economy needs.

⁵⁰ Penny Tinkler, *Constructing Girlhood: Popular Magazines for Girls Growing Up in England 1920-50*, Taylor & Francis, London, England, 1995, p. 64.

Conclusion

It is easy to take Klickmann's rhetoric at face value and to believe her intentions. But her motivation to publish *Needlework Economies* in 1919 was primarily commercial, by republishing material to an existing audience. The book offered her readership multiple approaches to economy, by making items at home of less expensive and better quality than commercial garments, mending garments to extend their longevity, remaking items from existing worn garments, and maximizing the use of patterns and materials. Although these were sound approaches and for the experienced maker could be transferable skills, as my maker-methodology has shown, the actual examples that were suggested in the book often trivialised the true nature of economy. The remaking process raised questions about the book's practicality and utility. Having considered the differences between my own skills in 2018 and those of Klickmann's readership in 1919, it became apparent that *Needlework Economies* was less about economy and more about the mere appearance of it for the middle classes.

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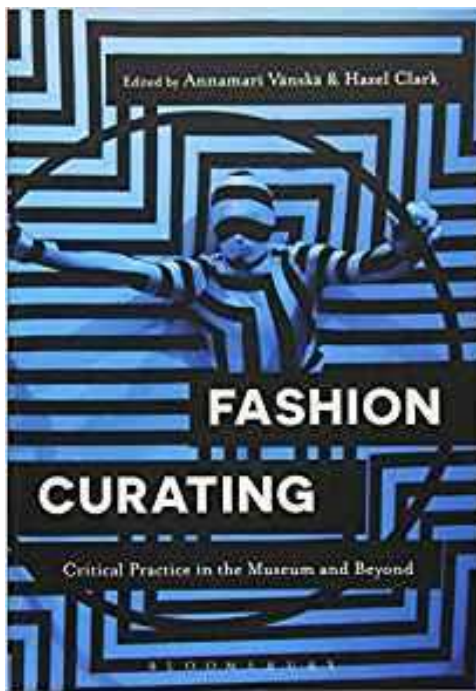
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Hannah Wroe is a lecturer in fashion at The University of Lincoln where she specialises in pattern cutting. Originally trained in made-to-measure womenswear, she researched pattern cutting and construction methods, 1935–1960, for her MA in Fashion and Textiles. She brings this maker methodology to her research projects. An avid collector of historic needlework and pattern cutting books, her research interests include material culture and object-based approaches to the study of dress, pattern cutting, and the history of fashion education. Her forthcoming book chapter, “An Education in Pattern Cutting, c.1950: The Work of E. Sheila MacEwan,” will be published in *Pattern Cutting: History and Theory*, Jennifer Moore, ed., (Bloomsbury, 2019).

Book Reviews



Annamari Vänskä and Hazel Clark, eds., *Fashion Curating: Critical Practice in the Museum and Beyond*, Bloomsbury Academic, London, England, 2018, 23 Colour Illustrations, 49 Black-and-White Illustrations, Acknowledgements, References, Index, 264pp, Softback, £20.69.

This insightful book is divided into three sections: Inside the Museum, The Independents, and Beyond the Museum, and is composed of 13 contributions by distinguished professionals in the museum field. As the editors declare, the idea of this book started in 2013 during a symposium that followed an exhibition in which they both worked. It is true that in these recent years more and more publications around the discipline of fashion

museology have appeared; nevertheless, *Fashion Curating* provides a new contribution and is a publication one would surely want to have on one's bookshelf.

The first section is focused on original perspectives around fashion in the conventional museum context and the different interventions that transport the reader around the world to an array of places such as The Costume Institute at The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, The Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto, and The ModeMuseum in Antwerp.

Sarah Scaturro, author of the chapter, "Confronting Fashion's Death Drive: Conservation, Ghost Labor, and the Material Turn within Fashion Curation," presents the original point of view of a conservator. Putting into light the backstage of dress museology, this chapter highlights the fundamental interaction with the object

that through treatments and interventions is saved from a “sort of death.” This will eventually occur when an object is unexhibitable, but the conservator is the one who could prevent all of this by acting as a recreator of fashion. I found this analysis intriguing and it left me with the desire to know more about this complementary aspect of fashion curating.

The final contribution of this section is the one I found most compelling. Kaat Debo’s “Fashion Curation at MoMu: Digital Challenges” shows how powerful digital resources are for fashion curation, focusing on the experiences of MoMu that brought the Antwerp museum to the forefront of audience communication. The interactive multi-touchscreen that welcomes visitors merges perfectly both as an educational tool and in research. Museums can pursue an examination and digitalisation of their collection, while visitors can learn more and interact firsthand. It will be interesting to see what additional features will be introduced.

The second section is about solutions and examples of curating fashion that have an outside-the-box approach. The venues and propositions shown are all unconventional but stand on a critically solid foundation. The most thought-provoking intervention is by Judith Clark and opens the section. “Props and Other Attributes: Fashion and Exhibition-making” demonstrates the value and usefulness inherent in props when dealing with the staging of an exhibition. At the same time, it leads the reader to questioning the mobility of a presentation and how to manage it.

Annamari Vänskä’s “Boutique—Where Art and Fashion Meet; Curating as Collaboration and Cultural Critique,” shows how joining forces and being open minded is an added value when it comes to curating. The exhibition was displayed at the Amos Anderson Art Museum in Helsinki in 2012, and from there three different versions followed in 2013, 2014, and 2015. Only with this kind of open approach it is possible to overcome the lack of funding and the site-specific display of an exhibition. “Boutique” is a clear example because of the editing required for every version abroad. I particularly appreciate the description of the curator as enabler, “Someone who works to create space for establishing, experiencing and understanding, also in ways that s/he did not intend” (p. 131).

The third and last section has a more international outlook where fashion curation is intertwined with commerce and culture. Personally, I appreciated the content of “Fashion Museums and Fashion Exhibitions in Italy: New Perspectives in Italian Fashion Studies” because Simona Segre Reinach was able to introduce Italian fashion studies in the wider context while underlining the peculiarities of the Italian territory and museum collections.

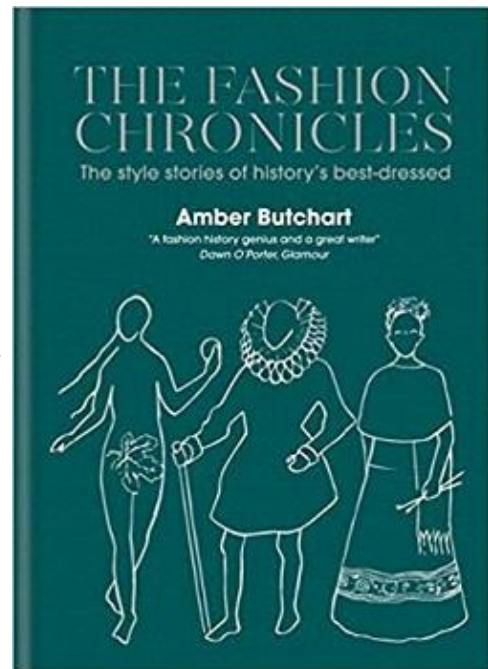
Lastly, “Fashion Curates Art: Takashi Murakami for Louis Vuitton” by Peter Bengtsen introduces collaboration between fashion brands and the art world. Thanks to his case of study, both the economic aspect of art and the artistic aspect in fashion are honestly outlined, providing an all-round view on the future of fashion curation. The most striking aspect of this publication is how versatile it is. Both experts and novices can benefit from this overview of fashion curating. It could be a point of departure for scholars eager to know more, or it could be an interesting collection on recent challenges that colleagues have to tackle. What I found difficult, though, was reading through the different writing styles and the switching subjects of the contributions. Nevertheless, the presentation of contemporary events and the relevance of the case studies places this publication into a much wider bibliographical context, alongside *Fashion and Museum: Theory and Practice* (Melchior and Svensson, 2014), for example, contributing and developing the debates on curatorial practices. The main strength of *Fashion Curating: Critical Practice in the Museum and Beyond* is its ability to question what could (or needs to) change, how different collaborations might work, and how fashion curating engages with other disciplines. In conclusion, I strongly recommend this publication either to challenge your knowledge on the topic or to broaden your perspectives. What this book has certainly accomplished is to increase insight into fashion curation.

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Irene Calvi will graduate in 2019 with a BA degree in Cultural Heritage (History of Art) from The University of Turin, Italy, with a dissertation on fashion museology. The focus of her dissertation research is the museological approach to fashion, and the ability of museums to deliver a message to their public through exhibitions. Irene is passionate about the historical and cultural significance of fashion interpretation in museums, an aspect she has deepened with a collaboration with the young collective CreateVoice and an Erasmus Traineeship. She is looking forward to expanding her knowledge in costume and textile history from innovative perspectives, following her interest in building a successful network that allows students, researchers, museums, and heritage sites to work better together. Irene was awarded a 2019 Student Fellowship by The Association of Dress Historians.

Amber Butchart, *The Fashion Chronicles: The Style Stories of History's Best Dressed*, Mitchell Beazley, London, England, 2018, Notes, Bibliography, Credits, Index, 87 Colour Illustrations, 41 Black-and-White Illustrations, 288pp, Hardback, £20.00.

The Fashion Chronicles: The Style Stories of History's Best Dressed by Amber Butchart takes the reader on a trip through humanity that showcases fashion's global importance throughout history and how fashion affected the lives of various influential figures. Butchart took on the unenviable task of narrowing down hundreds of historical icons to focus on 100. The icons chosen are a good mix of those who one would expect to find on a list of fashion icons (Marie Antoinette, Beau Brummel, Louis XIV) and those that are lesser known.



The book is neatly divided into five chronological sections: Ancient, Medieval, Early Modern, Late Modern, 20th and 21st Centuries. It is a daunting task to undertake so much history in 200 pages, but Butchart concisely and exquisitely manages to give just the right amount of detail on each person. The interweaving of a bit of general history of each figure's time period, along with the role of their fashion, allows the reader to get a broader view of different zeitgeists. The danger with undertaking a book of this type, covering such a large time period with many different figures, is that it can feel choppy. However, this book flows well and is nicely organised. I would have liked to read more about the covered individuals because the information included and connections made between different time periods and different figures made for some very interesting reading, but this book does well with "boiling down" information to fit within the number of pages.

The first section presents figures of the Ancient World. Figures that don't readily come to mind when thinking of the history of fashion, like Otzi the Iceman and Egtved Girl, are featured to demonstrate what we can learn from clothing in early societies from aesthetic choices to trade. Emperor Augustus is included to focus on the importance of the toga in the Roman political world and as an early example of how clothing and politics intersected. One thing that really gives strength to this book is the inclusion of historical figures that are either lesser known or overlooked. Xin Zhui, an upper class Chinese woman who lived in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC, is a good example. The amount of silk that was discovered in Xin Zhui's tomb in 1971 showed the importance of Chinese silk at the time of her death. What I especially like

about the inclusion of Xin Zhui, is the attention brought to the contrast between Chinese sartorial history at the time of Xin Zhui's death and when her tomb was discovered, under Mao's rule. The attention brought to the dichotomy between these two very different times in China—one of showing luxury and one of shunning it—is very interesting.

The Medieval section includes mostly well-known figures like Joan of Arc, Charlemagne, Eleanor of Aquitaine, Genghis Khan, William the Conqueror, etc. The influence of sartorial choices of Joan of Arc and Theodora, Empress of the Byzantine Empire, on modern day designers really hones in on fashion's lasting impact. Other figures, such as Elizabethan noblewoman Bess of Hardwick, which have also been influential to modern designers, are included in other sections.

What I especially like about this book is that it is sectioned chronologically but is not static. The figures represented move between time to be connected with each other or with a recurring topic. Sumptuary law is one of these recurring themes discussed through Edward the Black Prince, the Aztec Empire and Moctezuma II, the Ottoman Empire to distinguish between Muslims and non-Muslims, Louis XIV, and Qianlong Emperor. Another recurring topic is clothing and politics. English King Charles II used the "vest" to separate himself from the French; Keir Hardie, nineteenth-twentieth century British MP, wore working men's clothing to Parliament; Che Guevara, whose twentieth century revolutionary fashion is still a relevant symbol of revolution today that has entered into pop culture. "Fashion can exist at the intersection of revolutionary politics and consumer culture, commodifying popular movements or causes" (p. 138).

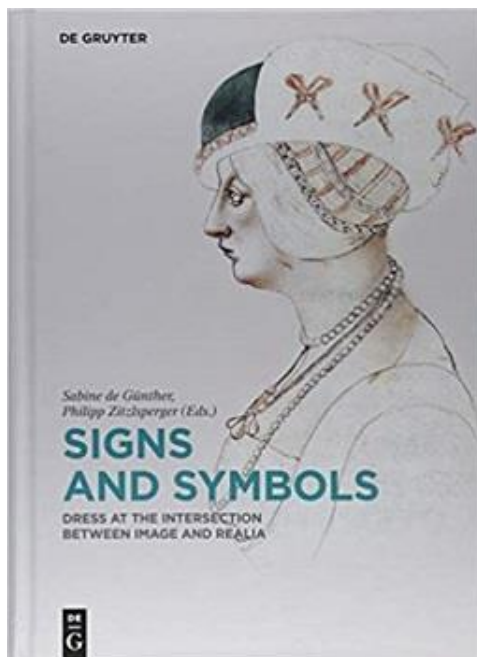
An interesting comparison that caught my eye was between two royal French women, Marie Antoinette and Empress Eugenie. Both women were seen as being frivolous because of their interest in fashion. Eugenie's role as fashion leader worked to undermine her role as a government leader in the absence of Napoleon III, thereby showing that often, for a woman at least, being a leader of fashion and a political leader was difficult to reconcile in public opinion. Marie Antoinette's love of fashion also undermined her with disastrous consequences, but, unlike Eugenie, she had no interest in matters of state, even though public opinion at the time often assumed differently.

Many twentieth and twenty first century figures like Beyoncé, Michelle Obama, Frida Kahlo, Peggy Guggenheim, Diana Vreeland, Prince, Johnny Cash, and many others are included that give the book a well-rounded historical span. Overall, I think that it is a great compilation of historical figures that shows the importance of fashion in myriad ways: showing one's status/power; supporting one's country by wearing patriotic clothing, supporting industries (weaving, dyeing) etc.; political reasons; setting

oneself apart from another group; self-expression; women using clothing to transcend their societal limitations; to protest a revolt. One of the main strengths of this book is the inclusion of lesser known historical figures that brings a wide arc of inclusion to the research. I recommend this book to anyone who wants to learn more about fashion history.

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Landis Lee is a 2013 graduate of the MA Fashion and Textiles programme at The Fashion Institute of Technology in New York. She has been working with clothing and textiles since 2007 when an opportunity to work with and research the textile collection of the Nevada State Museum propelled her to further studies. In addition to the Nevada State Museum, she has been fortunate enough to work with collections of The Costume Institute, The Museum at the Fashion Institute of Technology, and The North Carolina Museum of History. She is currently an independent researcher and owner of The Dandy Peacock, an online store of vintage clothing and accessories. Landis is also a PhD student at Carlos III University in Madrid, Spain.



Sabine de Günther and Philipp Zitzlsperger, eds., *Signs and Symbols: Dress at the Intersection between Image and Realia*, De Gruyter, Berlin, Germany, 2018, Notes, Credits, Index, 45 Colour Illustrations, 72 Black-and-White Illustrations, 359pp, Hardback, £63.50.

This book of essays shows how “dress depicted in images goes far beyond documenting a past status quo and instead constructs realities and reveals symbolic potential... [that can] challenge the viewer to reflect methodically on what appears and what is” (back cover). This work admirably succeeds in this goal, showing how evidence from extant garments and diverse images and written evidence

(including digital and databases analysis) can provide valuable and innovative new information, insights, and interpretations on many aspects of dress.

Elke Katharina Wittich addresses the many sixteenth century published images of Ottoman dress that were often reused in later publications with different contexts, backgrounds, and even subjects. Together with the display of cabinet collections of Ottoman objects, that enigmatic world was thus often simplified and distorted in yet another aspect of the remarkably fruitful field of orientalism.

Juliane von Fircks shows that the knight’s fourteenth century tailored aketon [a padded jacket worn under armour], evolved into the decorative pourpoint as a fancy court garment characterised by a different construction and decoration, thus showing how combat gear evolved into a noteworthy fashion during its crucial, early stage.

Thomas Weißbrich analyses how the evolving public display of military uniforms of Frederick II of Prussia (1712–1786) were used as “a screen” (p. 84) to project both praiseworthy and damning political, military, and intellectual interpretations of this German icon. This ongoing fascination remains so strong that his image is now abstractly interpreted on canvas.

Clare Rose shows how extant objects, donors’ tastes, artefact editing, and presentation by curators who privilege aesthetics over historical accuracy, all shape the subjectivities of museum interpretation. She stresses the varied information of documentary sources (wills, inventories, trade cards, invoices, court records, etc.) as contextualising and advancing interpretations of British and colonial American women’s quilted petticoats during 1680–1790s and utilises a database to analyse the use of colour.

Johannes Pietsch admirably shows the vital importance of thoroughly analysing extant objects (e.g., sewing techniques, tailoring, stitches, alternations, wear, and patterns) alongside evidence from graphics, art, documents, etc. A case study reveals a rare—and most significant—previously unknown phenomenon of a female doublet from 1630 southern Germany.

Leoni Heeger's outstanding analysis of early medieval male dress utilises the era's limited evidence—represented by very few surviving garments and abundant, though often vague, visual sources. Computer technology with digital, database scholarship and statistical, quantitative analysis are used to make substantial advances about which classes wore particular styles, colours, and trimmings, and when these were worn.

Wilm Grunwaldt analyses dress codes by using the 1720s Hamburg “moral weekly” *The Patriot*, as contextualising how power was used by the authorities to regulate dress. He thoroughly explores how this source's many nuances yields useful information, including the role of political and religious dress controversies, in the era before fashion magazines provided readers with guidance.

Astrid Ackermann and Stefanie Freyer address the evolution of exacting, honourific dress codes in early nineteenth century Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach and the complicated, symbolic “levelling” of sartorial reforms at different levels of the ducal court, amidst the duke's ongoing rigid sartorial decrees. Included are the subtleties of court functionaries' dress evolution amidst the transition from an estate-based to an increasingly bourgeois elite, including professors' dress in portraits with an increasing use of non-academic fashions. The ironic futility of endless, complicated rules requiring “a whole course of study” (p. 193) just to understand court mourning, highlights the conundrums of this process.

Tatjana Petzer and Martin Tremml analyse the Mona Lisa's almost invisible transparent gauze veil and headdress together with many other examples, to reveal the subtleties of how the treatment of fabric folds, draperies, and their movement forms a significant iconography. This constitutes a “pathos of fluidity” and a “dialectic process” that symbolically evokes primordial Renaissance era transitions between such opposites as “the sacred and mundane...God and man, mobility and fixation...knowledge and ignorance,” etc. (pp. 208–211). The authors' cultural anthropology approach postulates “orders of dress” (p. 216) à la Michel Foucault, yet interprets this not as a stable, but a fluid phenomenon.

Barbara Schmelzer-Ziringer addresses the origin of the formal differences between the two genders' modern sartorial silhouettes. She argues convincingly that rather than this phenomenon being bourgeois—a class which never developed an oppositional culture to the aristocracy—it originates in seventeenth century feudal-absolutist

military uniform as the hegemonic, sartorial model of exotic orientalism that evokes patriarchy and colonialism. This continuity persisted in the eighteenth century revolutionary bourgeois era as a symbolic sartorial “takeover of the royal silhouette” (p. 243) which has continued into the present. She calls for a fashion history revision to incorporate the designer’s perspective to help transcend this seemingly normative gender division.

Anne K. Reimers shows how fashion in 1920s Germany became increasingly commercial with the mass imitation of leading creations by the ready-to-wear industry and the *konfektionieren* or “packaging” (p. 246) of goods. This commercialisation was adopted as a language for critiquing the growing commodification of art. Leading artists had achieved commercial success by merely imitating others, which resulted in a decline in originality. With this process of the organised, strategic production of imitation, fashion was thus used as an alternative to the concept of style amidst the collapse of their differences, and likewise temporality tended to replace quality in art. This essay reveals another, significant factor in the many cross-overs between art and dress.

Sara van Dijk tackles the subject of jewellery, arguing that rather than being displayed as a separate museum object genre, it is best shown together with the clothing it was intended to accompany. She analyses the late fifteenth century trousseau of Milanese noblewoman Bianca Maria Sforza and shows how the careful jewellery choices made in her portraits reflected the propagandistic goals of her husband, Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I, and utilises documents to trace the history of the collection.

Herbert Kopp-Oberstebrink argues that in contrast to the disdain of Plato, Socrates and many subsequent philosophers who have analysed dress, clothing, and habitus (lifestyle) of philosophers can instead form a significant “symbolic system” as a functioning “life-world [lebensweltlich] authentication of the theoretical texts” (p. 300), with the example of Martin Heidegger’s defiance of venerable university tradition by lecturing in a ski outfit with knee breeches.

A few criticisms are in order; some sentences are overly, and occasionally even unnecessarily complicated and obtuse, yet this is often inherent in translating complex concepts, especially from German into English, while still maintaining the subtleties of meaning. More German words, especially those which carry theoretical meaning, should have been translated into English or explained, though many were.

This book is especially valuable by enlarging the oftentimes limited information about dress to reveal deeper levels of meaning and possible new interpretations, and the abundant, varied content makes doing it justice difficult. This book is eminently suitable for scholars and coursework on the history of dress and fashion, material

culture, museology/museum studies, art history, iconography, semiotics, and related fields, offering a pedagogically useful variety that will expand and enrich the horizons of undergraduates, graduate students, and established scholars.

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Scott Hughes Myerly earned a PhD in Military History from The University of Illinois, Urbana/Champaign, and a Master's degree in American History and Museum Studies from The University of Delaware. He is the author of the book, *British Military Spectacle from the Napoleonic Wars through the Crimea* (Harvard University Press, 1996); a finalist for the Longman-History Today Book of the Year Award in 1996; and has published articles in scholarly journals. A former history professor and museum curator, Dr. Myerly now devotes himself to scholarly research and writing on British male military and civilian fashion, and cultural history, circa 1340-1860. He interprets development of dress as indicating the evolution of the collective mentality. Dr. Myerly is Editor of The Journal of Dress History.

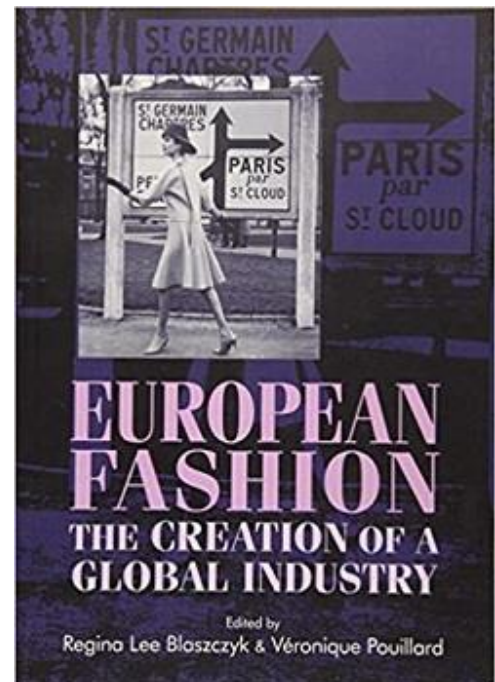
Regina Lee Blaszczyk and Véronique Pouillard, eds., *European Fashion: The Creation of a Global Industry*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, England, 2018, 66 Black-and-White Illustrations, 319 pp, Paperback, £20.00.

This book is the result of a three-year collaborative research project, “The Enterprise of Culture: International Structures and Connections in the Fashion Industry since 1945,” funded by HERA II: Humanities in the European Research Area. It is an anthology on the history of the fashion and creative industries.

This book provides a new approach to the study of fashion history. Unlike most works in Fashion Studies, it delves into how creativity and the process of value were transmitted across generations and spread geographically. Some fashion history research tends to focus on the fashion designer as the main source of creativity. However, the authors argue that creativity is a collective effort between the designer and other employees working within the fashion enterprise. This book focuses on the European fashion system since 1945 and presents several case studies on particular themes.

In an engaging introductory chapter, Balaszczyk and Pouillard set the scene for the rest of the book by providing a discussion on how the history of fashion has been culturally transformed. They present their innovative approach to business history, starting from Chandler’s paradigm to contemporary new business history. The authors show how during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, manufacturers and retailers were concerned about issues that were different from those that are currently distressing society. Furthermore, Balaszczyk and Pouillard concentrate on different issues, especially on “the nature of creativity and the ways in which creators read and respond to the market, and the strategies that have been used to adapt fashion to the new global environment” (p. 11).

The book consists of a series of case studies categorised into three main themes. Part One focuses on how fashion in Paris has changed from a centre for couturiers to a creative hub for high-end brands. Véronique Pouillard explores the struggles of post-war couture from three perspectives: the dissemination of couture lines for a wider audience of consumers; the relationship between couturiers and the French government; and the protection of intellectual property of entrepreneurs in the couture business. Pierre-Yves Donzé and Ben Wubs look into the evolution of the



French holding company LVMH. They explore the development of the fashion and luxury industries entrepreneurship, innovation, and creativity. Johanna Zanon examines “sleeping beauties” in the luxury fashion industry, taking two entrepreneurs, Guy and Arnaud de Lummen, as a case study. She looks into the methodologies used by them to revive “sleeping beauty” brands.

Part Two investigates how European fashion was promoted internationally by retailers and fashion brands. Florence Brachet Champsaur writes about the 1953 Italian fair, “La Fleur de la production italienne,” at the flagship store of Galeries Lafayette in Paris. She assesses its influence on the American management of this French department store and the establishment of a new European commercial network. Sonnet Stanfill investigates the role played by American buyers in the establishment of the Italian fashion industry during 1950–1955. Giovanni Battista Giorgini, an Italian entrepreneur, and I. Magnin, one of the first elite department stores, are taken as examples of how Italian ready-to-wear fashion made it to North American department stores. Blaszczyk concentrates on one of the United States’ largest fashion retailers, Filene, which introduced European fashion merchandise into store promotions. The key focus is on the intermediaries, buyers, stylists, fashion directors, merchandisers, and managers who worked for Filene’s. Ingrid Giertz-Mårtenson writes about the Swedish clothing retail chain, H&M, and its relation with society and culture.

Part Three delves into the development of influential fashion hubs that critique the traditional fashion system. Rika Fujioka and Ben Wubs researched two Japanese denim and jeans companies, Kaihara and Japan Blue, by tracing their evolution and how they were influenced by European and North American trends. Shiona Chillas, Melinda Grewar, and Barbara Townley investigated Scottish textiles and fashion and refer to the theories of Pierre Bourdieu, the French sociologist, to understand the cultural, economic, and symbolic capital of these industries. Tereza Kuldova examines Indian luxury fashion houses with a focus on the issue of their “ethical sell” which is more important for the Indian market than its western counterparts. Kuldova discusses ethical fashion by taking into account both local Indian and global challenges. Wessie Ling traces the origin and development of the Red-White-Blue bag in Hong Kong; with its rich symbolic meaning. This chapter describes how various countries have adopted and produced their versions of this bag, focusing her attention on Louis Vuitton’s version of this iconic item.

This interdisciplinary book is a must for those who are researching areas such as design history, cultural anthology, ethnography, management studies, and business history. The case studies presented by the various authors show evidence of sound academic research. The illustrations are clear and useful for the reader, although a

colour reproduction would have been more effective, especially in the case of the final chapter on the Red-White-Blue bag (Chapter 12).

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Recent PhD Theses in Dress History

The Association of Dress Historians (ADH) is proud to support scholarship in dress history through its international conferences, events such as ADH members' tours, and publication of *The Journal of Dress History*. We are passionate about sharing our knowledge with you. Our mission is to start conversations, encourage the exchange of ideas, and expose new and exciting research in the field to all who appreciate the discipline. To that end, the following is a recurring article, updated and published in every issue of *The Journal of Dress History*, and contains a selection of recently completed PhD thesis titles and abstracts in dress history. This list is important as it illustrates new, cutting-edge research in dress history that is currently being executed by PhD candidates, listed in this article in alphabetical order per surname.

This list of recent PhD thesis titles and abstracts contains theses in dress history that are registered at The British Library, London, England, the official theses repository of the region in which *The Journal of Dress History* is published. The titles and abstracts were taken directly from the published thesis entry on The British Library website. Most of these theses are available for immediate download, in full and for free, through The British Library portal, <http://ethos.bl.uk>. Additionally, this article includes those PhD thesis titles and abstracts of ADH members (especially international ADH members) whose theses are not registered at The British Library. If you are an ADH member and would like your PhD thesis title and abstract included in the next issue of *The Journal of Dress History*, please send a note to journal@dresshistorians.org.

Felice McDowell, *Photographed at ... : locating fashion imagery in the cultural landscape of Post-War Britain, 1945-1962*, PhD Thesis, University of the Arts London, London, England, 2013.

This thesis explores a history of fashion and art in post-war Britain. The historical analysis of this study focuses on how institutions and spaces of public culture – such as museums, galleries, exhibitions and art schools – were used as locations for editorial photo-spreads published in the British editions of *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar* between 1945 and 1962. Fashion magazines participate in the cultural production of art by depicting its institutions, its products and producers as fashionable. This thesis interrogates the ways in which the field of fashion, and fashion media in particular, thereby gives symbolic value to the field of art through its mediation. In its examination of the ways in which representations of art and fashion have been meaningfully constructed for a high fashion magazine readership, the thesis contributes to a further understanding of the relationship between fashion and art, and affords new insights into the cultural history of post-war Britain. The theoretical framework of this study engages with Agnès Rocamora's model of 'fashion media discourse', which brings together the work of Michel Foucault and Pierre Bourdieu. This thesis draws upon Foucault's work on 'discourse' and Bourdieu's concept of 'cultural production' in order to conduct an 'archaeology' of post-war British fashion media and its participation in the cultural production of art. This thesis has developed Rocamora's concept in its application to a specific historical study of fashion media. In doing so, this thesis contributes to a wider understanding of how the theoretical work of Foucault and Bourdieu can be applied in the scholarly research of fashion media and histories of fashion. This thesis contributes to the further knowledge of practices in history concerning methodologies of archival research and textual analysis.

P.K.C. Sypererek, *Jewels of the Natural History Museum: gendered aesthetics in South Kensington, c. 1850-1900*, PhD Thesis, University College London (UCL), London, England, 2015.

Several collections of brilliant objects were put on display following the opening of the British Museum (Natural History) in South Kensington in 1881. These objects resemble jewels both in their exquisite lustre and in their hybrid status between nature and culture, science and art. This thesis asks how these jewel-like hybrids – including shiny preserved beetles, iridescent taxidermised hummingbirds, translucent glass jellyfish as well as crystals and minerals themselves – functioned outside of normative gender expectations of Victorian museums and scientific culture. Such displays' dazzling spectacles refract the linear expectations of earlier natural history taxonomies and confound the narrative of evolutionary habitat dioramas. As such, they challenge the hierarchies underlying both orders and their implications for gender, race and class. Objects on display are compared with relevant cultural phenomena including

museum architecture, natural history illustration, literature, commercial display, decorative art and dress, and evaluated in light of issues such as transgressive animal sexualities, the performativity of objects, technologies of visualisation and contemporary aesthetic and evolutionary theory. Feminist theory in the history of science and new materialist philosophy by Donna Haraway, Elizabeth Grosz, Karen Barad and Rosi Braidotti inform analysis into how objects on display complicate nature/culture binaries in the museum of natural history. The aim of this study is to go beyond dichotomised interpretations of the role of gender in science and museology in order to present a more nuanced and at times chaotic picture of sexual relations as reflected in late nineteenth-century scientific and material culture. By considering the spaces in between art and science, natural theology and evolution, taxonomy and naturalism, masculine and feminine, different, sometimes queer, configurations of gender emerge in the displays of the Natural History Museum.

Tracey Leigh Wedge, *Constructing splendour: the wardrobe of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester (1532/3-1588), consumption and networks of production*, PhD Thesis, University of Southampton, London, England, 2013.

This thesis examines the networks involved in the production of the wardrobe of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester (1532/3-1588). It is clearly demonstrated that Leicester's dress placed him alongside his contemporaries within the nobility. A successful and well functioning wardrobe network was crucial to achieving the required standard of dress. Establishing the identity of the individual members of the network enables the further examination of each person's role within the network, and in dressing Leicester. Comprised of English masters embedded in their livery company politics and punctuated with foreign masters, the network provides an insight into business practice and social interaction in sixteenth century London.

A Guide to Online Sources for Dress History Research

Jennifer Daley

Online sources for dress history research have been increasing in scale and quality. This article provides 166 online sources that are of a professional quality and that play a role in furthering the academic study of the history of dress, textiles, and accessories of all cultures and regions of the world, from before classical antiquity to the present day. Categorised alphabetically per country, the following online collections reflect the interdisciplinarity of dress history research that can be accessed through searchable banks of images, objects, and texts.

This article includes online collections in the following countries: Australia, Belgium, Canada, Chile, China, Denmark, England, France, Germany, Hungary, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, New Zealand, Russia, Scotland, Spain, and the United States. For inclusion in this article, the museum, archive, or other professional organisation must offer online sources in English. If a website link initially prompts non-English text, simply find the translation tool on the webpage, which will provide automatic translation into English. Additionally, the museum, archive, or other professional organisation must offer online sources for dress history research that can be officially referenced at an academic level; for example, images must include a unique identifying number (such as an inventory number, accession number, or museum identification number).

The following descriptive texts were taken directly from the individual websites, which are hyperlinked and can be easily utilised: from the downloaded journal issue, simply select the link to view the online source. This article is a living document and will be updated and published in every issue of *The Journal of Dress History*. Additions, suggestions, and corrections to this article are warmly encouraged and should be sent to journal@dresshistorians.org.

Australia

The Australian Dress Register, Sydney

The Australian Dress Register is a collaborative, online project about dress with Australian provenance.

<https://australiandressregister.org>

Museums Discovery Centre, Sydney

The Museums Discovery Centre is a collaboration between The Museum of Applied Arts and Sciences, Australian Museum, and Sydney Living Museums. The Centre includes the material heritage of Australian culture, history, and lifestyle. There are more than 500,000 separate items in the collection, including dress and fashion.

<https://collection.maas.museum>

The National Gallery of Australia, Canberra

The National Gallery of Australia is the Commonwealth of Australia's national cultural institution for the visual arts and is a portfolio agency within the Department of Communications and the Arts.

<https://artsearch.nga.gov.au>

The National Gallery of Victoria, Fashion and Textiles Collection, Melbourne

Select the Collection tab at the top menu, then view the search tool and all curatorial departments, including The Fashion and Textiles Collection. The earliest international works are Egyptian Coptic textiles dating from around the sixth century AD while later holdings include sixteenth century lace, eighteenth century dress, embroidery and textiles, as well as contemporary fashion from around the globe.

<https://www.ngv.vic.gov.au>

The National Museum of Australia, Canberra

Scroll through this page to research many interesting examples of clothing and accessories.

<http://www.nma.gov.au/explore/collection/collection/clothing>

Belgium

Fashion Museum of Antwerp and The University of Antwerp, Antwerp

This online collection was compiled for the sole purpose of being accessible to study, research, training, and inspiration.

<http://128.199.60.250/omeka/items/browse>

Canada

Bata Shoe Museum, Toronto

The Bata Shoe Museum is home to the world's largest and most comprehensive collection of shoes and footwear-related objects. On the following webpage, click on "Select a Story" then click on the story of your choice; on the next page, click on "Enter" to view text and images of that story. On the left-hand side menu of each story page are more story options while on the right-hand side menu are images of shoes, with descriptive text and accession numbers.

<http://www.allaboutshoes.ca/en>

The McCord Stewart Museum, Montreal

The online collection includes clothing and accessories belonging to Canadian men, women and children, covering three centuries; garments from Montreal designers, manufacturers, and retailers; quilts, coverlets, and other handmade domestic textiles.

<http://www.musee-mccord.qc.ca/en/collections>

Ryerson University, Fashion Research Collection, Toronto

This collection offers a wide selection of fashion and textiles.

<http://ryersonfashion.pastperfectonline.com>

The University of Alberta, Anne Lambert Clothing and Textiles Collection, Edmonton

Founded in 1972, the collection includes everyday wear and designer clothes for men, women, and children from different continents, and over 350 years of history.

<https://clothingtextiles.ualberta.ca>

The University of Calgary, Theatrical Scene and Costume Design Collection, Calgary

This collection features designs dating to the mid nineteenth century.

<http://www.ucalgary.ca/costumedesign>

Chile

Museo de la Moda, Santiago

This database offers a timeline of fashion with descriptive information and images.

<http://www.museodelamoda.cl/linea-de-tiempo>

China

The China Silk Museum, Hangzhou

The China Silk Museum is China's largest professional museum for textiles and clothing, and the largest silk museum in the world. To utilise the museum website, select Collection; then choose either Ancient collection search or Contemporary collection search; then, make a selection in the drop-down menus titled Classification, Technology, and/or Years.

<http://www.chinasilkmuseum.com>

Denmark

The National Museum, Copenhagen

The National Museum holds a large collection of men's and women's clothes, circa 1700–1980s. For a number of different dresses, suits, special occasion clothes, etc., there are downloaded sewing patterns. The following website features dress history but also links to additional research portals, including celebrations and traditions, cosplay, military history, monarchy, fur, and more.

<https://natmus.dk/historisk-viden/temaer/modens-historie>

England

Art UK, London

This searchable database is a compilation of public art collections within the UK.

<https://artuk.org>

Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

The Ashmolean has embarked on a major project to digitise its collections with an initial target of making 250,000 objects available online by 2020.

<http://collections.ashmolean.org>

The Bank of England Archive, London

On this page, select Online Catalogue. The Bank of England Archive contains over 88,000 records relating to all aspects of the Bank's history and work, dating from the founding of the Bank in 1694 to the present day.

<https://www.bankofengland.co.uk/archive>

Bloomsbury Fashion Central and Berg Fashion Library

This platform offers instant access to scholarly research, iconic images, and quality textbooks. To gain comprehensive access, log in by subscription, which may be available through an affiliated educational establishment or public library.

<https://www.bloomsburyfashioncentral.com>

The Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle

The online database includes an array of dress and textile artefacts, including items from the wardrobe of Empress Eugenie (1826–1920) and other pieces from the Blackborne Lace Collection.

<http://bowes.adlibhosting.com/search/simple>

Bridgeman Images

This online collection has over two million art, culture, and historic images.

<http://www.bridgemanimages.com>

Brighton & Hove Museums Costume Collection, Brighton

Brighton & Hove Museums' comprehensive costume collection is of considerable national significance. It embraces men's, women's, and children's dress and accessories from the sixteenth century to the present day.

<https://brightonmuseums.org.uk/discover/collections/fashion-and-textiles>

British History Online

This is a digital library of key printed primary and secondary sources for the history of Britain and Ireland, with a primary focus on the period, 1300–1800. BHO was founded in 2003 by The Institute of Historical Research and The History of Parliament Trust.

<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/using-bho/subject-guides>

The British Library, London

The website contains many images, such as illuminated manuscripts, which could support dress history research.

<https://www.bl.uk>

The British Museum, London

A search box enables comprehensive research through over four million objects.

<http://www.britishmuseum.org/research>

British Pathé, London

The world's leading multimedia resource offers a search tool, a Collections tab, and free availability to view newsreels, video, archive, film, footage, and stills.

<https://www.britishpathe.com>

The Burgon Society, London

The following website contains a list of the items of academical dress owned by The Burgon Society, with many images of academical gowns and hoods.

<http://www.burgon.org.uk/society/wardrobe/uk.php>

Central Saint Martins, London

This searchable online collection includes art and design of Central Saint Martins alumni and images from the British Artists' Film and Video Study Collection.

<http://collections.arts.ac.uk>

Chertsey Museum, The Olive Matthews Collection, Chertsey

This collection features many items of national significance, with over 4000 men's, women's and children's fashionable clothes dating from circa 1700 to the present.

<http://www.chertseymuseum.org.uk>

The Costume Research Image Library of Tudor Effigies

This is a Textile Conservation Centre project now hosted by The Tudor Tailor and JMD&Co. The website includes images of sixteenth century effigies in churches in the English counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Sussex, and Hampshire, including the Isle of Wight. This resource is useful to anyone interested in the cut and construction of sixteenth century dress.

<http://www.tudoreffigies.co.uk>

The Courtauld Gallery, London

The following website includes the complete collection of paintings, sculpture, decorative arts, and drawings, as well as a selection of prints.

<http://www.artandarchitecture.org.uk>

The Fashion Museum, Bath

There are almost 100,000 objects in the Fashion Museum collection, some items of which can be accessed on the following website.

<https://www.fashionmuseum.co.uk/collection>

The Glove Collection Trust, London

The Glove Collection Trust owns a collection of historic and modern gloves recognised as one of the finest in the world, and includes an unsurpassed collection of seventeenth century gloves as well as original coronation gloves worn by English monarchs. The Trustees of The Glove Collection Trust are appointed by the Court of the Worshipful Company of Glovers of London, one of the Livery Companies of the City of London. To view images of gloves on the webpage, below, select either "View catalogue by date" or "View catalogue by material."

<http://www.glovecollectioncatalogue.org>

Goldsmiths Textile Collection, London

The Collection, founded in the 1980s by Constance Howard and Audrey Walker, comprises textile art, embroidery, and dress.

<http://www.gold.ac.uk/textile-collection>

Hampton Court Palace, Historic Royal Palaces Image Library

This online database includes images of fashion, caricature, art, portraits.

<http://images.hrp.org.uk>

The Imperial War Museum, London

The collection covers all aspects of conflict involving Britain, its former Empire and the Commonwealth, from the First World War to the present day. The collection includes works by great artists, filmmakers and photographers to intensely personal diaries, letters and keepsakes to pamphlets, posters and proclamations. Explore around 800,000 items via the following website.

<http://www.iwm.org.uk/collections>

The John Bright Historic Costume Collection, London

This website is a catalogue of key items from the collection of original garments and textiles belonging to award-winning costume designer, John Bright.

<https://www.thejohnbrightcollection.co.uk>

Kerry Taylor Auctions, London

Established in 2003, Kerry Taylor Auctions is a leading auction house specialising in vintage fashion, fine antique costume, and textiles. The website features dress images, description, and pricing.

<https://kerrytaylorauctions.com>

Knitting in Early Modern Europe

This online database provides photographs and technical details about knitted caps from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries held in European collections. It offers opportunities to comment on the material and participate in experimental archaeology which is attempting to match the characteristics of the fulled knitted fabric from the era.

www.kemererearch.com

Manchester City Council, Manchester Local Image Collection, Manchester

The Manchester Local Image Collection, with over 80,000 images, is a unique photographic record of Manchester, its people, streets, and buildings from a period stretching well over 100 years.

<https://images.manchester.gov.uk>

Marks and Spencer Archive Catalogue, Leeds

The M&S Company Archive holds thousands of historical records from the days of Michael Marks' Penny Bazaar to the present. It is possible to browse themes, such as Lingerie and Sleepwear, Textile Technology, and Wartime.

<https://archive-catalogue.marksandspencer.ssl.co.uk/home>

Mary Evans Picture Library, London

This Picture Library cover a broad range of topics and subject areas.

<https://www.maryevans.com>

Middlesex University Fashion Collection, London

The Fashion Collection comprises approximately 450 garments for women and men, textiles, accessories including hats, shoes, gloves, and more, plus hundreds of haberdashery items including buttons and trimmings, from the nineteenth century to the present day.

<https://tinyurl.com/middlesex-fashion>

The Museum of London, Dress and Textiles Collection, London

These unique collections include over a million objects from thousands of years of London's history. The Dress and Textiles Collection focuses on clothes and textiles that were made, sold, bought, and worn in London from the sixteenth century to the present. The Paintings, Prints, and Drawings Collection, as well as the Photographs Collection, support research in dress history.

<https://www.museumoflondon.org.uk/collections>

The National Archives, Kew

Browse over 75,000 images available to download immediately, spanning hundreds of years of history from The National Archives' unique collections, from ancient maps to iconic advertising.

<https://images.nationalarchives.gov.uk>

The National Army Museum, London

This online collection holds a large image gallery that could be useful for research in dress history.

<https://collection.nam.ac.uk>

The National Portrait Gallery, London

Access over 200,000 portraits from the Tudors to the present day. Scroll through the Primary Collection, Photographs, Prints and Drawings, or use the search tool.

<https://www.npg.org.uk/collections>

A hundred years of hand-coloured engraved fashion plates can now be explored. Primarily showing women's dress, the fashion plates were published in English and French magazines during 1770–1869, and now form part of the National Portrait Gallery's reference collection to assist portrait and dress research.

<https://www.npg.org.uk/research/fashionplates>

The National Trust, Swindon

Discover great art and collections, including fashion, and explore over 200 historic places (and 921,731 items online) in the care of The National Trust.

<http://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk>

People's History Museum, Manchester

The collections span four centuries of the history of working people in Britain with the majority focusing on the last 200 years. The museum holds one of the largest collections of historic trade union and political banners in the world and is the leading authority in the UK on the conservation and study of banners.

<https://phm.org.uk/collection-search>

The Public Domain Review, Manchester

The Public Domain Review is a not-for-profit project dedicated to works that have fallen into the public domain, which are therefore able to be used freely. To find dress history images and text, insert "fashion" into the search box at the top of the page.

<http://publicdomainreview.org>

***Punch*, London**

Punch, a British magazine of humour and satire, was published during 1841–2002. The following website offers a searchable database of *Punch* cartoons, many of which portray dress.

<https://www.punch.co.uk>

Queen Victoria's Journals, London

A fully searchable database of Queen Victoria's journals is freely available online at:

<http://www.queenvictoriasjournals.org/home.do>

The Royal Collection, London

Use the "Search the Collection" tool to navigate through thousands of images to support research in dress history.

<https://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection>

The Royal Opera House, London

Royal Opera House Collections collect, preserve, and provide access to an extraordinary collection that records the history of the House since 1732.

<http://www.roh.org.uk/about/roh-collections/explore>

The University of Brighton, Dress History Teaching Collection, Brighton

The aim of the Dress History Teaching Collection is to offer all students and staff at the University of Brighton direct access to closely examine and photograph historical and world fabrics and garments while encouraging the use of the collection within material culture research.

<http://arts.brighton.ac.uk/re/cdh/resources/teaching-collection>

The University of Brighton, Screen Archive South East, Brighton

Screen Archive South East (SASE) is a public sector moving image archive serving the South East of England. SASE is part of the School of Media at the University of Brighton. Its function is to collect, preserve, research, and provide access to screen material related to the region and of general relevance to the study of screen history.

<http://screenarchive.brighton.ac.uk>

Symington Fashion Collection, Barrow-on-Soar

The Symington corsetry collection was created by the Market Harborough company R. & W. H. Symington, which began to make corsets during the 1850s. The company eventually grew into an international concern and one of its most famous products, the Liberty Bodice, was produced for almost seventy years. The collection includes garments and supporting advertising material, which provide an insight into the development of corsetry, foundation garments, and swimwear from the late nineteenth century to the beginning of the 1990s.

<https://tinyurl.com/Symington-corsets>

The Underpinnings Museum, London

The Underpinnings Museum is an online archive dedicated to the history of underwear. The goal of the project is to provide free access to an oft-neglected area of fashion study. Each object is accompanied by detailed imagery, technical and contextual information.

<https://underpinningsmuseum.com>

The University of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Oxford

The John Johnson Collection of Printed Ephemera is one of the largest and most important collections of printed ephemera in the world. It offers a fresh view of British history through primary, uninterpreted printed documents which, produced for short-term use, have survived by chance, including advertisements, handbills,

playbills and programmes, menus, greetings cards, posters, postcards. The Images tab, on the following webpage, contains circa 74,000 items, and a search tool.

<https://www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/johnson>

The University of Sussex, Mass Observation, Brighton

The Mass Observation Archive contains papers generated by the original Mass Observation social research organisation (1937 to early 1950s), and newer material collected continuously since 1981 (Mass Observation Project).

<http://www.massobs.org.uk>

The Victoria and Albert Museum, Textiles and Fashion Collection, London

The V&A holds the national collection of Textiles and Fashion, which spans a period of more than 5000 years. The Clothworkers' Centre for the Study and Conservation of Textiles and Fashion is the location at which items can be studied in person.

<http://collections.vam.ac.uk>

The Wedgwood Museum Collections, Stoke-on-Trent

The searchable collection includes some interesting images of historic dress, from Wedgwood portrait medallions to a woman's shoe designed with a Wedgwood heel.

<http://www.wedgwoodmuseum.org.uk/collections/search-the-collection>

The Wellcome Collection Library, London

The Wellcome Collection is one of the world's major resources for the study of medical history. The online collection offers free downloads of high-resolution images of paintings, drawings, caricatures, photographs, films, posters, books, pamphlets, archives, and sound recordings.

<https://wellcomelibrary.org/collections>

The William Morris Gallery, Walthamstow

The William Morris Gallery holds the most comprehensive collection of objects relating to all aspects of Morris' life and work, including his work as a designer, a writer, and a campaigner for social equality and the environment.

<http://www.wmgallery.org.uk/collection/browse-the-collection>

France

Cluny Museum, National Museum of the Middle Ages, Paris

Tapestries and textiles can be explored on the following link.

<https://www.musee-moyenage.fr/collection/parcours-decouverte/tapisseries-et-textiles.html>

The National Centre for Stage Costume, Moulins

This collection includes costume for performing art, theatre, opera, ballet, dance, and street theatre productions.

<http://www.cncs.fr/collections?language=en-gb>

The Palais Galliera, Paris

This fashion museum offers a comprehensive online collection that includes many images to support dress history research.

<http://www.palaisgalliera.paris.fr/en/collections/collections>

Réunion des Musées Nationaux, Grand Palais, Paris

Since 1946, the Réunion des Musées Nationaux, Grand Palais photo agency (a public industrial and commercial institution under the authority of the French Ministry of Culture) has been officially responsible for promoting collections of France's national museums. On the following link, browse the collections that are included in the database, different themes for research, or insert a keyword (such as dress) in the search tool at the top of the page.

<https://www.photo.rmn.fr/Collections>

Textile and Decorative Arts Museum, Lyon

On the following website, select Museums and Collections to search for dress and textiles sources.

<http://www.mtmad.fr/fr/Pages/default.aspx>

Germany

The Munich City Museum, Fashion and Textiles Collection, Munich

Access the Fashion and Textiles Collection through the main website. Founded in 1888, the museum collection includes fashion and textiles from everyday clothing to haute couture from the early eighteenth century to the present day.

<https://www.muenchner-stadtmuseum.de>

Hungary

The Museum of Applied Arts, Textile and Costume Collection, Budapest

The 17,000 items in the Textile and Costume Collection are mainly from Europe, with some from overseas, representing a wide range of techniques and periods of textile art. Complementing the textiles themselves is a historical collection of equipment used to make them.

<http://www.imm.hu/en/contents/28,Textile+and+Costume+Collection>

Ireland

National Museums Northern Ireland, Ulster

The museum has several collections, which include art, costume, and textiles.

<https://www.nmni.com/collections/art>

Israel

The Rose Fashion and Textile Archives, Tel Aviv

The archive contains a collection of about 4000 items of clothing and accessories ranging from the eighteenth century to the twenty-first century. This is in addition to a collection of ancient, modern, and ethnic textiles made using a wide range of manual and industrial techniques. Of particular interest is the Israeli collection in which clothing, textiles, and accessories were created or worn in Israel from the end of the nineteenth century. For an English version of the webpage, right-click anywhere on the page and select Translate to English.

<https://rosearchive.shenkar.ac.il>

Italy

Europeana Fashion International Association, Florence

Explore fashion from more than 30 European public and private institutions. Digital images include historical clothing and accessories, contemporary designs, catwalk photographs, drawings, sketches, plates, catalogues, and videos.

<https://www.europeana.eu/portal/en/collections/fashion>

The European Fashion Heritage Association, Florence

EFHA is an international hub, in which fashion GLAMs (Galleries, Libraries, Archives and Museums) and brands share their digital heritage assets and their experiences and best practices in the field of digitisation, access and valorisation of fashion heritage resources.

<https://fashionheritage.eu>

Valentino Garavani Virtual Museum, Milan

Take a virtual tour through this museum, dedicated to the fashion design of Valentino (1932-)

<http://www.valentinogaravanimuseum.com>

Japan

The Bunka Gakuen Library, Tokyo

This is a specialised library for fashion and clothing. The library collects rare books, magazines, fashion plates, etc., from the sixteenth century to the nineteenth century.
http://digital.bunka.ac.jp/kichosho_e/index.php

The Kyoto Costume Institute, Kyoto

The Kyoto Costume Institute Digital Archives presents image and text information for objects in the collection, from 1700 to today.
http://www.kci.or.jp/en/archives/digital_archives

Netherlands

Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

The Rijksmuseum is a Dutch national museum dedicated to arts and history. The collection of the Rijksmuseum includes costumes and accessories, together no less than 10,000 items. On the following page, researchers can search with keywords, such as fashion, textiles, etc. Additionally, on the following page researchers can select the link, Search the library catalogue.
<https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/search>

Textile Research Centre, Leiden

The collection of the Textile Research Centre in Leiden contains over 22,000 textiles, garments and accessories such as headgear, footwear, jewellery and walking sticks. It also includes technical items such as hand spinning and weaving equipment. The objects derive from all over world and date from some seven thousand years ago to the present day. Scroll down the following webpage to search items by country, date, technique, as well as by subject category, such as hats, shoes, belts, etc.
<https://trc-leiden.nl/collection>

New Zealand

The New Zealand Fashion Museum

This is a museum dedicated to the curation of the rich fashion past of New Zealand, making it relevant for the present and future. Established in 2010 as a Charitable Trust, the museum records and shares the stories of the people, objects, and photographs that have contributed to the development of the unique fashion identity of New Zealand.
<http://nzfashionmuseum.org.nz>

Russia

The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg

The Hermitage includes over 3 million works of art and world culture artefacts, including paintings, graphic works, sculptures, works of applied art, archaeological artefacts, and numismatic objects. A search tool can be used to find dress and textile objects on the following link, Collection Online.

<http://www.hermitagemuseum.org/wps/portal/hermitage/explore/artworks?lng=en>

Scotland

The Glasgow School of Art, Glasgow

The Archives and Collections are available online and include images of art, design, photographs, textiles, and more.

www.gsaarchives.net

Heriot Watt University Textile Collection, Edinburgh

The Textile Collection of archives, fabric, and apparel, charts the evolution of the Scottish textile industry from the mid eighteenth century to the present day.

<https://www.hw.ac.uk/services/heritage-information-governance/textile-collection.htm>

The National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh

This online source includes art and design images, medieval manuscripts, maps, photography, sport, theatre, war, and more.

<https://digital.nls.uk/gallery>

National Museums Scotland, Edinburgh

The museum has over three million objects and specimens, ranging from the earliest times to the present day. The online collections database includes a range of fashion and textiles.

<http://nms.scran.ac.uk>

Spain

The Virtual Fashion Museum of Catalonia, Barcelona

This website is a platform to present historical and period costumes of public collections in Catalonia, Spain. More than 6000 pieces of period clothing are held in these collections and this platform tries to expose them to a wider audience. There are 642 costumes digitised in this online catalogue.

<http://www.museudelamoda.cat/ca>

United States

The American Antiquarian Society, Worcester

The AAS library today houses the largest and most accessible collection of books, pamphlets, broadsides, newspapers, periodicals, music, and graphic arts material printed through 1876 in what is now the United States. The online inventory includes painted portraits, miniatures, sculpted portrait busts, as well as other artefacts that could be useful for dress historians.

<http://www.americanantiquarian.org>

The Art Institute, Chicago

The Department of Textiles contains more than 13,000 textiles and 66,000 sample swatches ranging from 300BC to the present. The collection has strengths in pre-Columbian textiles, European vestments, tapestries, woven silks and velvets, printed fabrics, needlework, and lace. The Institute also offers digital collections of European painting and sculpture, prints, and drawings.

<http://www.artic.edu/aic/collections/textiles>

Augusta Auctions, New York

Augusta Auctions represents museums, historical societies, universities, and other institutions bringing to market museum de-accessions and patron donations of clothing, textiles, and accessories.

<https://www.augusta-auction.com>

The British Newspaper Archive, London

Access hundreds of historic newspapers from all over Britain and Ireland through the search tool on the following webpage.

<https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>

The Illustrated London News began weekly publication in 1842 as a primarily conservative leaning paper and was the world's first illustrated newspaper.

<https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/titles/illustrated-london-news>

The Brooklyn Museum Library, Fashion and Costume Sketch Collection, 1912–1950, New York

The Digital Library Collection holds additional collections that could be beneficial in dress history research.

<https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/archives/set/198>

Brown University Library Collections, Providence

This page lists the different collections that the library has compiled, many of which contain interesting images of dress. A search box at the top, right-hand corner allows a comprehensive sweep of the whole Brown Digital Repository.

<https://repository.library.brown.edu/studio/collections/library>

Brown University also holds The Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection, the foremost American collection of material devoted to the history and iconography of soldiers and soldiering, and is one of the world's largest collections devoted to the study of military and naval uniforms.

<https://library.brown.edu/collections/askb>

Chicago History Museum, Chicago

The Museum's collection of more than 23 million objects, images, and documents records the evolution of Chicago, from fur-trading outpost to modern metropolis.

<https://www.chicagohistory.org/collections>

Chicago History Museum has an especially strong Costume and Textiles Collection, which can be accessed through the following link.

<https://www.chicagohistory.org/collections/collection-contents/costume-and-textiles>

Colonial Williamsburg, Virginia

Colonial Williamsburg, an eighteenth century living heritage museum, hosts online resources, a digital library, and special collections. There are both textual and visual objects in this collection.

<http://research.history.org/resources>

Columbia College, Fashion Study Collection Online Database, Chicago

The Fashion Study Collection at Columbia College Chicago is an exceptional collection of designer garments, fashion history, and ethnic dress. A hands-on, academic, and inspirational resource for students and the public, the collection was founded in 1989 and has grown to house more than 6000 items.

<http://fashioncolumbia.pastperfectonline.com>

Cornell University, The Costume and Textile Collection, Ithaca

This collection includes more than 10,000 items of apparel, accessories, and flat textiles dating from the eighteenth century to present, including substantial collections of functional clothing, technical textiles, and ethnographic costume. To view images, scroll down the page and select the link, "Online catalogue database." Then, select "Guest account," which will take you to the searchable database of costume.

<https://www.human.cornell.edu/fsad/about/costume/home>

Drexel University, Historic Costume Collection, Philadelphia

This is a searchable image database comprised of selected fashion from the Robert and Penny Fox Historic Costume Collection, designs loaned to the project by private collectors for inclusion on the website, fashion exhibitions curated by Drexel faculty, and fashion research by faculty and students.

<http://digimuse.westphal.drexel.edu/publicdrexel/index.php>

Fashion Institute of Design and Merchandising (FIDM), Los Angeles

The collections of the FIDM Museum and Galleries span more than 200 years of fashion history, from Parisian haute couture to iconic film costumes and one-of-a-kind accessories.

<http://fidmmuseum.pastperfectonline.com>

The Fashion Institute of Technology, The Museum at FIT, New York

This collection of fashion, textiles, and accessories is fully searchable. The website also includes a Photography Archive that features the work of fashion photographers.

<http://fashionmuseum.fitnyc.edu>

The Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D.C.

The Folger Shakespeare Library holds the world's largest collection of Shakespearean art, from the sixteenth century to the present day, as well as a world-renowned collection of books, manuscripts, and prints from Renaissance Europe. The Digital Image Collection includes some stage costumes and other dress images.

<https://www.folger.edu/works-of-art>

HathiTrust Digital Library, Ann Arbor

HathiTrust is a partnership of academic and research institutions, offering a collection of millions of titles digitised from libraries around the world. These books are especially good for textual evidence to support dress history research. Photographs and pictorial works can also be searched in this database.

<https://www.hathitrust.org>

Indianapolis Museum of Art, Indianapolis

The collection of textile and fashion arts comprises approximately 7000 items and represents virtually all of the world's traditions in fabric. Major collecting in this area began in 1906, with the purchase of 100 Chinese textiles and costumes. European holdings feature silks from the late sixteenth to nineteenth centuries, a lace collection spanning 500 years, and nineteenth century paisley shawls woven in England.

<http://collection.imamuseum.org>

Iowa State University, The Textiles and Clothing Museum, Ames

This online collections database includes dress, dating from the 1840s to today.

<http://tcmuseum.pastperfectonline.com>

The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles

The collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum comprises Greek, Roman, and Etruscan art from the Neolithic to Late Antiquity; European art (including illuminated manuscripts, paintings, drawings, sculpture, and decorative arts) from the Middle Ages to the early twentieth century; and international photography from its inception to the present day. The images are fully searchable.

<http://www.getty.edu/art/collection>

Kent State University, Gallery of Costume, Kent

This online collection includes an impressive array of dress and historic costume from the eighteenth century through the twentieth century.

<https://www.kent.edu/museum/gallery-costume>

The Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

The Digital Collection holds a wide array of images that can be utilised in dress history research, including The Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division. There are several categories from which to research, or a separate search box at the top of the page can be utilised.

<https://www.loc.gov/collections>

The Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Los Angeles

This LACMA website includes links to many useful collections, including a collection titled, Fashion, 1900–2000.

<https://collections.lacma.org>

Los Angeles Public Library, Los Angeles

There are several different collections that are freely available and searchable, including travel posters, movie posters, book plates, and fashion plates. The Casey Fashion Plates Collection includes over 6200 hand-colored, finely detailed fashion illustrations produced during 1780–1880 for British and American fashion magazines.

<http://www.lapl.org/collections-resources/visual-collections>

Margaret Herrick Library Digital Collections, Hollywood

The database contains more than 35,000 digitised images about American cinema, including original artwork and Hollywood costume design.

<http://digitalcollections.oscars.org>

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Thomas J. Watson Library, New York

The following address is the main page, which lists items in The Costume Institute and the Irene Lewisohn Costume Reference Library. Searchable image databases include dress, fashion plates, textual references, and more.

<http://libmma.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm>

The following webpage includes more than 5000 years of art from across the globe.

<https://metmuseum.org/art/collection>

The Museum of Chinese in America, New York

The Museum of Chinese in America (MOCA) has amassed a nationally significant collection, documenting Chinese life in America, including fashion and textiles.

<http://www.mocanyc.org/collections>

The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

The David and Roberta Logie Department of Textile and Fashion Arts offers a wide range of online materials for dress history research. Scroll down the page to see the links to the Textiles and Fashion Arts Collection. The museum also holds a large collection of prints and drawings, containing almost 200,000 works that range from the beginnings of printing in the fifteenth century to today.

<http://www.mfa.org/collections/textiles-and-fashion-arts>

The Museum of Modern Art, New York

The museum contains almost 200,000 works of modern and contemporary art, more than 77,000 works of which are available online.

<https://www.moma.org/collection>

Newport, Rhode Island Cultural Institutions Online Collections

This database includes items from participating cultural institutions in Newport, Rhode Island, including the Doris Duke Fashion Collection of Newport Restoration.

<http://newportalri.org>

The New York Public Library Digital Collections, New York

The New York Public Library offers many different online collections, including Fashion Collections and an Art and Picture Collection.

<https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/collections/lane/fashion-collections>

New York School of Interior Design Archives and Special Collections, New York

A collection of 23 boxes of material including correspondence, drawings, publications, articles, project specifications, photographs, and miscellaneous items documenting the careers of both Sarah Tomerlin Lee (1910–2001), advertising

executive, magazine editor, author and interior designer, and her husband Thomas (Tom) Bailey Lee (1909–1971), designer of displays, exhibits, sets, and interiors.

<http://nysidarchives.libraryhost.com/repositories/2/resources/2>

Ohio State University, Historic Costume and Textiles Collection, Columbus

This collection is a scholarly and artistic resource of apparel and textile material culture, including the Ann W. Rudolph Button Collection. The site also includes lesson plans for its programme, Teaching History with Historic Clothing Artefacts.

<http://costume.osu.edu>

The Ohio State University Libraries' Jerome Lawrence and Robert E. Lee Theatre Research Institute includes costume and scene designs from more than 50 productions by British designer, Daphne Dare (1929–2000).

<http://drc03.drc.ohiolink.edu/handle/2374.OX/3>

Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia

Many objects from the Museum's collection of over 240,000 are available in the online collections database, include dress historical images with complete citations.

<http://www.philamuseum.org/collections/search.html>

Philadelphia University, The Design Center, Philadelphia

Tapestry is an online resource that catalogues thousands of historic fabric swatches from Philadelphia University's vast textile collection.

<http://tapestry.philau.edu>

Phoenix Art Museum, Fashion Collection, Phoenix

The Fashion Collection holds more than 4500 American and European garments, shoes, and accessories, and emphasises major American designers of the twentieth century.

<http://www.phxart.org/collection/fashion>

Prelinger Archives, New York

Prelinger Archives has grown into a collection of over 60,000 ephemeral (advertising, educational, industrial, and amateur) films.

<https://archive.org/details/prelinger>

Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto

The Textiles and Fashions Collection is one of many that are listed on this page.

<http://collections.rom.on.ca/collections>

Shippensburg University, Fashion Archives and Museum, Shippensburg

The Fashion Archives' 15,000-item collection, comprised mostly of donations, consists of clothing and accessories worn by men, women and children, dating from the eighteenth to the twentieth century. Primarily focused on middle- and working-class Americans, clothing from all walks of life is represented in the collection.

<http://fashionarchives.org/collection.html>

Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

The Smithsonian Institution is the world's largest museum, education, and research complex.

<http://collections.si.edu/search>

To search the Smithsonian Institution Libraries, insert "fashion" (for example) for a variety of fashion plates, shoes, and more.

<https://library.si.edu/image-gallery>

The National Museum of American History offers many images and information online. For a list of subject areas, select the following link, which includes Clothing & Accessories as well as Textiles.

<http://americanhistory.si.edu/collections/subjects/clothing-accessories>

<https://amhistory.si.edu/costume>

The Smithsonian American Art Museum provides many collections online that could be useful for research in dress history.

<http://americanart.si.edu/collections/search>

Spencer Museum of Art, The University of Kansas, Lawrence

The Museum's collection exceeds 45,000 objects spanning the history of European and American art from ancient to contemporary, with broad and significant holdings of East Asian art. Areas of special strength include medieval art; European and American painting, sculpture, and prints; photography; Japanese Edo-period painting and prints; and twentieth century Chinese painting.

<https://www.spencerart.ku.edu/collection>

State University of New York, Fashion Institute of Technology (FIT), New York

The address is for the digital collections of the FIT Library's Special Collections and College Archives. On the main page, there is a search box into which any term can be inserted. Images are of high resolution and easily downloaded. At the top of the page, select Images or Collections to view sources for research in dress history.

<https://sparcdigital.fitnyc.edu>

Staten Island Historical Society, New York

The Staten Island Historical Society's collections tell the story of the American experience through the lives of Staten Islanders.

<http://statenisland.pastperfectonline.com>

State University of New York, Geneseo

To locate primary source material for costume images, go to the link, then on the top menu, select Image Collections.

<http://libguides.geneseo.edu/HistoryofCostume>

The University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

Many different digital collections are listed on this page, including the Motley Collection of Theatre and Costume Design, containing over 4000 items.

<https://digital.library.illinois.edu/collections>

The University of Michigan, Digital Collections, Ann Arbor

On the left-hand column, highlighted in yellow, searches can be run through many different filters. In that yellow column, select Image Collections to access applicable research for dress history.

<https://quod.lib.umich.edu>

The University of Minnesota, Goldstein Museum of Design, St. Paul

On the following website, select Collection, then Search the Collection. There, use the search tool or select Costumes, Textiles, or Decorative Arts and Design.

<http://goldstein.design.umn.edu>

The University of North Texas, Texas Fashion Collection, Denton

The collection includes over 18,000 items and is an important element to the fashion programme at The University of North Texas.

<https://digital.library.unt.edu/explore/collections/TXFC>

The University of Pennsylvania Libraries, Philadelphia

The Online Books Page is a website that facilitates access to books that are freely available over the Internet and could be useful in textual research in dress history.

<http://onlinebooks.library.upenn.edu>

The online archives of The University of Pennsylvania also include issues of *Gentleman's Magazine*, the monthly magazine published in London, 1731-1907.

<http://onlinebooks.library.upenn.edu/webbin/serial?id=gentlemans>

The University of Rhode Island Library Special Collections, The Commercial Pattern Archive, Kingston

This is a wide collection of vintage sewing patterns.

<https://copa.apps.uri.edu/index.php>

The University of Texas, Harry Ransom Center, Austin

There are many collections accessible, representing just a sample of the diverse holdings in literature, photography, film, art, and the performing arts, with many images to support research in dress history.

<https://hrc.contentdm.oclc.org/digital>

The University of Washington, The Costume and Textiles Collection, Seattle

The Henry Art Gallery's Costume and Textile Collection is a unique resource for the study of construction, design, and pattern found on clothing and textiles. These collections reflect trends in historic fashion, preserve information about traditional ethnic dress, and provide important clues about how color and pattern on clothing is used to structure social groups.

<http://dig.henryart.org/textiles/costumes>

The University of Wisconsin Digital Collection, Madison

This digital collection includes images of millinery, dressmaking, clothing, and costume books from the UW-Madison collections.

<https://uwdc.library.wisc.edu/collections/HumanEcol>

Virginia Military Institute, Lexington

This collection includes a wide variety of military images and text of the Institute, alumni, the American Civil War, the First World War, and the Second World War.

<http://digitalcollections.vmi.edu>

Wayne State University, Digital Dress Collection, Detroit

There are several different collections on this page; however, the Digital Dress Collection is the best for dress history research. The Digital Dress Collection contains images of clothing worn in Michigan during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The collection offers insight into Michigan life and society. The items shown here are held in the collections of Wayne State University, The Henry Ford, Detroit Historical Society, and Meadowbrook Hall.

<https://digital.library.wayne.edu/item/wayne:collectionDigDressColl>

We Wear Culture, Mountain View

This project is part of the greater Google Arts and Culture Project, which includes a wealth of information and images, all fully searchable.

<https://artsandculture.google.com/project/fashion>

Winterthur Museum, Garden and Library, Winterthur

Winterthur's collection of nearly 90,000 objects features decorative and fine arts made or used in America during 1630–1860. The collection is organised in several main categories: ceramics, glass, furniture, metalwork, paintings and prints, textiles and needlework.

<http://museumcollection.winterthur.org>

The Valentine, Costume and Textiles Collection, Richmond

This address is the main page for the Costume and Textiles Collection at The Valentine, which comprises over 30,000 dress, accessory, and textile objects made, sold, worn, or used in Virginia from the late eighteenth century to the present day. On this page, there is a menu on the right that lists links to the Collections Database Search page and the Archives page.

<https://thevalentine.org/collections/costume-textiles>

Yale University, Harvey Cushing/John Hay Whitney Medical Library, New Haven

This webpage includes many different Digital Collections, including Civil War Photographs, Postcard Collection, Prints and Drawings, Historical Medical Poster Collection, and more.

<https://library.medicine.yale.edu/digital>

Yale University, The Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, New Haven

The Yale Center for British Art holds the largest and most comprehensive collection of British art outside the United Kingdom, presenting the development of British art and culture from the Elizabethan period to the present day. With the Reference Library and Archives, the Center's collections of paintings, sculpture, drawings, prints, rare books, and manuscripts provide exceptional resources.

<https://britishart.yale.edu/collections/search>

Other**Archive Grid**

This is a searchable database for archival collections in the United States.

<https://beta.worldcat.org/archivegrid>

Artstor

Artstor is a nonprofit organisation committed to enhancing scholarship and teaching through the use of digital images and media, which includes the Artstor Digital Library and JSTOR, a digital library.

<http://www.artstor.org>

Digital Public Library of America

This is an all-digital library that aggregates metadata (or information describing an item) for millions of photographs, manuscripts, books, sounds, moving images, and more from libraries, archives, and museums across the United States. DPLA brings together the riches of America's libraries, archives, and museums, and makes them freely available to the world.

<https://beta.dp.la>

Getty Images

Royalty-free historic images can be filtered in the search tool.

<https://www.gettyimages.co.uk>

The Internet Archive

This is a non-profit library of millions of free books, images, and more. On the top menu, select the images icon to search for images. In the search box in the center of the page, insert "fashion plate" to view and download a wide variety of historic fashion images. Scroll down the homepage to view lists of the top categories.

<https://archive.org>

North American Women's Letters and Diaries

This database is the largest electronic collection of women's diaries and correspondence ever assembled, spanning more than 300 years. This database is searchable with a free, 30-day subscription; otherwise, access is advised through an academic institution or library.

<https://alexanderstreet.com/products/north-american-womens-letters-and-diaries>

Open Culture

Browse a collection of over 83,500 vintage sewing patterns. On this page there is also lists to links of art and images, which could be useful in dress history research.

<http://www.openculture.com/2017/06/browse-a-collection-of-over-83500-vintage-sewing-patterns.html>

Project Gutenberg

Project Gutenberg offers over 57,000 free ebooks, many of which could support research in dress history, such as the complete 1660s diary of Samuel Pepys.

<http://www.gutenberg.org>

Vintage Sewing Patterns

This searchable database includes images of sewing patterns, printed before 1992.

<http://vintagepatterns.wikia.com>

The Visual Arts Data Service (VADS)

This online source contains many different collections that could be useful for dress history research. The search tool on the main page allows global searches across all collections; otherwise, individual collections can be searched.

<https://vads.ac.uk/collections>

WorldCat Library Database

WorldCat connects collections and services of more than 10,000 libraries worldwide.

<https://www.worldcat.org>

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Jennifer Daley researches the political, economic, industrial, technological, and cultural history of clothing and textiles. She is a university lecturer, who teaches the history of dress and décor, fashion/luxury business/history, and other courses to BA, MA, MSc, and MBA students at several universities. Jennifer is the Editor-in-Chief of *The Journal of Dress History* and the Chairman and Trustee of The Association of Dress Historians. She is a PhD candidate at King's College London, where she is analysing sailor uniforms and nautical fashion. Jennifer earned an MA in Art History from The Department of Dress History at The Courtauld Institute of Art, a BTEC in Millinery Design and Construction at Kensington and Chelsea College, an MA from King's College London, and a BA from The University of Texas at Austin.

The Editorial Board

The following biographies represent the members of The Editorial Board of The Journal of Dress History.

Jennifer Daley, Editor-in-Chief

Jennifer Daley researches the political, economic, industrial, technological, and cultural history of clothing and textiles. She is a university lecturer, who teaches the history of dress and décor, fashion/luxury business/history, and other courses to BA, MA, MSc, and MBA students at several universities. Jennifer is the Editor-in-Chief of The Journal of Dress History and the Chairman and Trustee of The Association of Dress Historians. She is a PhD candidate at King's College London, where she is analysing sailor uniforms and nautical fashion. Jennifer earned an MA in Art History from The Department of Dress History at The Courtauld Institute of Art, a BTEC in Millinery Design and Construction at Kensington and Chelsea College, an MA from King's College London, and a BA from The University of Texas at Austin.

Scott Hughes Myerly, Editor

Scott Hughes Myerly earned a PhD in Military History from The University of Illinois, Urbana/Champaign, and a Master's degree in American History and Museum Studies from The University of Delaware. He is the author of the book, *British Military Spectacle from the Napoleonic Wars through the Crimea* (Harvard University Press, 1996); a finalist for the Longman's/History Today Book of the Year Award in 1996; and has published articles in scholarly journals. A former history professor and museum curator, Dr. Myerly now devotes himself to scholarly research and writing on British male military and civilian fashion, and cultural history, circa 1340-1860. He interprets development of dress as indicating the evolution of the collective mentality.

Georgina Chappell, Proofreader

Georgina Chappell is a lecturer in Fashion Cultures at Manchester Fashion Institute at Manchester Metropolitan University. After many years working in technical system design for the banking industry, her academic background in history led her back to dress history. Georgina's research interests include the influence of the avant-garde on fashion in the early twentieth century; early twentieth century beauty culture; fashion in the Deutsche Demokratische Republik (DDR); and *Eve* magazine, 1919–1929. Georgina recently completed a Master's degree at Manchester Fashion Institute and Manchester School of Art with a dissertation, titled, *An Investigation into the Influence of the Avant-Garde, Bohemia, and Modernism on Women's Lifestyle and Fashion, 1919–1929, with Particular Reference to Eve Magazine*.

The Editorial Board of The Journal of Dress History is grateful for the editorial assistance of the following two ADH Student Fellows, who will be working on the journal during their year-long student fellowship.

Irene Calvi, Editorial Assistant

Irene Calvi will graduate in 2019 with a BA degree in Cultural Heritage (History of Art) from The University of Turin, Italy, with a dissertation on fashion museology. The focus of her dissertation research is the museological approach to fashion, and the ability of museums to deliver a message to their public through exhibitions. Irene is passionate about the historical and cultural significance of fashion interpretation in museums, an aspect she has deepened with a collaboration with the young collective CreateVoice and an Erasmus Traineeship. She is looking forward to expanding her knowledge in costume and textile history from innovative perspectives, following her interest in building a successful network that allows students, researchers, museums, and heritage sites to work better together. Irene was awarded a 2019 Student Fellowship by The Association of Dress Historians.

Katharine Lawden, Editorial Assistant

Katharine Lawden is a design historian, currently pursuing an MSt in the History of Design at The University of Oxford. A graduate of Central Saint Martins, her BA Fashion History and Theory dissertation examined the representation of black women within *Vogue* magazine. Since graduating, she has worked at the Burberry Heritage Archives and *Marie Claire* magazine, as well as undertaking an array of internships at the Alexander McQueen Archives, *Vogue* UK, Tatler, *Harper's Bazaar*, *ELLE*UK, The Victoria and Albert Museum, and most recently at Christie's London in their Handbags department. Katharine was awarded a 2019 Student Fellowship by The Association of Dress Historians.

The Advisory Board

The following biographies represent the members of The Advisory Board of The Journal of Dress History, in alphabetical order.

Sylvia Ayton, MBE, Independent Scholar, United Kingdom

Sylvia Ayton received a very thorough training at Walthamstow School of Art and Royal College of Art. Her early work as a fashion designer included designing BEA air hostess uniforms in 1959, clothing for B Altman and Co (New York), Count Down and Pallisades stores (London). In 1964, she formed a partnership with Zandra Rhodes to open Fulham Road Clothes Shop in London. She joined Wallis Fashion Group as outerwear designer in 1969 and remained until 2002. In 1990 she was awarded the MBE for services to the fashion industry, whilst continuing to work as an external examiner and part-time lecturer to many BA (Hons) fashion courses. In 1980 she became a Fellow of the Royal Society for the encouragement of Arts Manufacture and Commerce, and was a Member of the Jury of RSA Student Design Awards (Fashion). She is also a former Chairman of the Costume Society.

Cally Blackman, MA, Central Saint Martins, United Kingdom

Cally Blackman is the author of *100 Years of Fashion Illustration* (2007); *100 Years of Menswear* (2009); and *100 Years of Fashion* (2012); and co-author of *A Portrait of Fashion* (2015) for the National Portrait Gallery. She has published articles in peer-reviewed journals, *Costume* and *Textile History*, and contributed to exhibition catalogues for The Victoria and Albert Museum and Palais Galliera. She has written for Acne Paper broadcast on BBC Radio 4 and has lectured widely. She has taught on the Fashion History and Theory BA Pathway at Central Saint Martins for over a decade, contributes to MA programmes at CSM, London College of Fashion, Sothebys Institute, and the The V&A Education Department. She was Chairman of CHODA (Courtauld History of Dress Association), 2000–2005, and a Trustee of the Costume Society, 2005–2010.

Penelope Byrde, MA, FMA, Independent Scholar, United Kingdom

Penelope Byrde read Modern History at St. Andrews University before specialising in the history of dress for her MA from The Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London. She was a curator at The Museum of Costume and Fashion Research Centre in Bath for almost 30 years until she retired in 2002. She was joint editor of *Costume*, the dress studies journal published by The Costume Society, for five years and she is an Associate Lecturer at Central Saint Martins, University of the Arts, London where she specialises in dress in eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth century literature. She has written several books on the history of fashion, including *The Male Image: Men's Fashions in Britain 1300-1970*, *A Visual History of Costume: The Twentieth Century*, *Nineteenth Century Fashion*, and *Jane Austen Fashion*.

Caroline de Guitaut, MVO, AMA, Royal Collection Trust, United Kingdom

Caroline de Guitaut is currently Senior Curator of Decorative Arts, Royal Collection Trust, London. She is a curator with more than 25 years' experience of caring for, displaying, and researching one of the world's greatest art collections. She is curator of high profile exhibitions of decorative arts and fashion at The Queen's Galleries in London and Edinburgh and at Buckingham Palace since 2002. Her publications include books, exhibition catalogues, and articles in peer reviewed journals. She is a regular lecturer in museums and galleries in the UK and internationally. She is a Member of the Victorian Order, an Associate of the Museums Association, and a Trustee of the Royal School of Needlework.

Thomas P. Gates, MA, MSLS, MAEd, Kent State University, United States

Thomas P. Gates attended The Cleveland Institute of Art and Case Western Reserve University, receiving a bachelors' degree in art history from the latter. He received a Masters' degrees in art history and librarianship from The University of Southern California. He also received a Master's degree in art education from The University of New Mexico. After receiving a Rockefeller Fellowship in museum and community studies at the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, he assisted with exhibitions at the museum's Downtown Centre and curated a mobile exhibition for the US Bicentennial in 1976 sponsored by the California Historical Society. In 1996 he developed the June F Mohler Fashion Library for the School of Fashion Design and Merchandising, assuming responsibilities as head librarian when it opened in 1997. He achieved rank of tenured associate professor in 1998. Gates' interest in the history of the built environment and American mid century high-end retail apparel resulted in published, as well as invitational papers, in many scholarly organisations.

Alex Kerr, PhD, FBS, The Burgon Society, United Kingdom

Alex Kerr has spent much of his career as a lecturer in medieval studies, later combining this with academic administrative roles. He holds a BA in medieval and modern languages from Oxford University, and an MA and PhD in medieval studies from Reading University. Since 2001 he has also been director of a consultancy providing training courses in communication skills. From 2001 to 2013 he was Managing Editor of the journal, *Contemporary Review*. So far as dress history is concerned, he is an independent researcher and has published several articles on the history of academic dress. He is a Trustee and Fellow of The Burgon Society, an educational charity for the study of academic dress, its design, history, and practice. He was editor of its *Transactions*, an annual scholarly journal, from 2003 to 2010, and is now the Society's Secretary.

Jenny Lister, MA, The Victoria and Albert Museum, United Kingdom

Since 2004, Jenny Lister has been Curator of Fashion and Textiles at The Victoria and Albert Museum. She has curated the exhibitions, 60s Fashion (2006), Grace Kelly: Style Icon (2010), and Mary Quant (2019). Her publications include *The V&A Gallery of Fashion* (2013), with Claire Wilcox; *London Society Fashion 1905-1925: The Wardrobe of Heather Firbank* (2015); *May Morris* (2017), with Anna Mason, Jan Marsh, et al.; and *Mary Quant* (2019). Her other research interests include the British shawl industry.

Timothy Long, MA, Independent Scholar, United States

Until 2018, Timothy Long was Curator of Fashion and Decorative Arts at The Museum of London. His career began at The Chicago History Museum in 1999 as a costume collection manager, before becoming curator of costume in 2006. In 2011, he returned to school for an MA, History and Culture of Fashion at London College of Fashion. Following the completion of his degree in 2013, he became a curator at The Museum of London. His publication record includes Chicago History Museum exhibition catalogues, including *Dior: The New Look*, *Chic Chicago*, *Charles James: Genius Deconstructed*, *I Do! Chicago Ties the Knot*, and investigations on Etruscan dress for *The British Museum Technical Bulletin* (2014). More recently, he wrote a book titled *Charles James: Designer in Detail*, and a chapter on the same designer for *London Couture: British Luxury 1923-1975*, both through V&A Publishing (2015).

Jane Malcolm-Davies, PhD, The University of Copenhagen, Denmark

Jane Malcolm-Davies was a Marie Skłodowska Curie Fellow at The Centre for Textile Research, University of Copenhagen, from 2015 to 2017. She is co-director of The Tudor Tailor, which researches and retails publications and products aimed

at improving reproduction historical dress for pedagogical projects. She was a postdoctoral research fellow at The University of the Highlands and Islands (Centre for Interpretation Studies) and The University of Southampton. She lectured in entrepreneurship and heritage management at The University of Surrey, introduced costumed interpreters at Hampton Court Palace (1992 to 2004), coordinated training for the front-of-house team at Buckingham Palace each summer (2000 to 2010), and has coached guides for the new National Army Museum.

Susan North, PhD, The Victoria and Albert Museum, United Kingdom

Susan North is the Curator of Fashion before 1800 at The Victoria and Albert Museum. She has a BA in Art History from Carleton University in Ottawa, Canada, an MA in Dress History from The Courtauld Institute, and a PhD from Queen Mary, University of London. She worked for The National Gallery of Canada and The National Archives of Canada, before joining the V&A in 1995. She has co-authored several V&A publications relating to early modern dress, as well as co-curating *Style and Splendour: Queen Maud of Norway's Wardrobe* (2005).

Martin Pel, MA, Royal Pavilion and Brighton Museums, United Kingdom

Martin Pel is Curator of Fashion and Textiles at Royal Pavilion and Museums in Brighton where he has curated a number of exhibitions, including *Subversive Design* (2013) and *Fashion Cities Africa* (2016). He has published on dress and fashion history including *The Biba Years 1963-1975* (V&A Publishing, 2014) and has co-edited *Gluck: Art and Identity* (Yale, 2017), with Professor Amy de la Haye, to accompany an exhibition of the same name.

Anna Reynolds, MA, Royal Collection Trust, United Kingdom

Anna Reynolds is Senior Curator of Paintings at Royal Collection Trust, where she has worked since 2008. She is part of the curatorial team with responsibility for temporary exhibitions at The Queen's Gallery in London and The Queen's Gallery in Edinburgh, as well as the permanent display of approximately 8000 paintings across royal residences including Buckingham Palace, Windsor Castle, and the Palace of Holyroodhouse. Her exhibitions and accompanying publications include *In Fine Style: The Art of Tudor and Stuart Fashion* (2013), *Royal Childhood* (2014), *A Royal Welcome* (2015), and *Portrait of the Artist* (2016). During 2017-2018, Anna was the Polaire Weissman Fellow at The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, where she studied John Singer Sargent and fashion. Anna holds an undergraduate degree from Cambridge University, a Diploma from Christie's Education, and a Master's degree in the History of Art from The Courtauld Institute.

Aileen Ribeiro, PhD, The Courtauld Institute of Art, United Kingdom

Professor Emeritus Aileen Ribeiro read history at King's College, London, followed by an MA and PhD at The Courtauld Institute of Art. She was Head of The Department of Dress History at The Courtauld Institute of Art from 1975 to 2009. She lectures widely and has acted as costume consultant/contributor to many major museum exhibitions in Great Britain, Europe, and North America. Professor Emeritus Ribeiro has published many books and articles on various aspects of the history of dress, including *The Art of Dress: Fashion in England and France 1750–1820* (1995); *Dress and Morality* (2003); *Fashion and Fiction: Dress in Art and Literature in Stuart England* (2006); *Facing Beauty: Painted Women and Cosmetic Art* (2011); *A Portrait of Fashion: Six Centuries of Dress at the National Portrait Gallery* (with Cally Blackman) (2015); and *Clothing Art: The Visual Culture of Fashion, 1600–1914* (2017).

Georgina Ripley, MA, National Museums Scotland, United Kingdom

Georgina Ripley is Senior Curator of Modern and Contemporary Fashion and Textiles at National Museums Scotland (NMS), where she is responsible for fashion from 1850 to the present day, including the museum's extensive Jean Muir archive. She is currently working on *Body Beautiful: Diversity on the Catwalk* (opening 23 May–20 October 2019) and the museum's first major temporary exhibition for fashion opening in June 2020. Georgina was the lead curator for the permanent Fashion and Style gallery which opened at the museum in 2016. She has also co-curated *Express Yourself: Contemporary Jewellery* (2014) and contributed to exhibitions at NMS including *Jean Muir: A Fashion Icon* (2008–2009) and *Mary Queen of Scots* (2013), and *The House of Annie Lennox* (2012), a V&A Touring Exhibition at the Scottish National Portrait Gallery. Georgina holds a Master's degree in the History of Art from The Courtauld Institute and has previous experience working with The Royal Academy of Arts, The Warner Textile Archive, Museums Galleries Scotland, and the National Galleries of Scotland.

Gary Watt, MA, NTF, The University of Warwick, United Kingdom

Gary Watt is a Professor of Law at The University of Warwick, a National Teaching Fellow, and co-founding editor of the journal, *Law and Humanities*. Specialising in performative rhetoric, he was named UK "Law Teacher of the Year" in 2009 and has led rhetoric workshops for the Royal Shakespeare Company for many years. Professor Watt's monographs include *Equity Stirring* (Oxford: Hart, 2009); *Dress, Law and Naked Truth* (Bloomsbury Academic, 2013); and *Shakespeare's Acts of Will: Law, Testament and Properties of Performance* (Bloomsbury Arden Shakespeare, 2016). He has written for *The Times Literary Supplement* and

collaborated with composer Antony Pitts for BBC Radio 3 and for The Song Company of Australia.

Rainer Wenrich, PhD, Catholic University, Eichstaett-Ingolstadt, Germany

Rainer Wenrich, PhD, is Professor and Chair of Art Education and Didactics of Art at Catholic University in Eichstätt-Ingolstadt, Germany. He achieved his PhD on the topic of twentieth century art and fashion. His research interests are visual studies, costume history, and fashion theory. As a Professor for Art Education he has lectured at The Academy of Fine Arts, Munich and as a visiting scholar at Columbia University, New York. He is the author of many articles and books in the field of art education and fashion studies. In 2015 he edited *The Mediality of Fashion*, published by Transcript, Bielefeld, Germany.

Submission Guidelines for Articles

Members of The Association of Dress Historians (ADH) are encouraged to consider writing an article for publication in The Journal of Dress History. If you are not yet an ADH member but are interested in writing an article, become a member today! ADH memberships are £10 per year and are available at www.dresshistorians.org/membership. If you would like to discuss an idea for an article, please contact journal@dresshistorians.org.

The Editorial Board of The Journal of Dress History encourages the unsolicited submission for publication consideration of academic articles on any topic of the history of dress, textiles, and accessories of all cultures and regions of the world, from before classical antiquity to the present day. Articles and book reviews are welcomed from students, early career researchers, independent scholars, and established professionals. Consult the most recently published issue for updated submission guidelines for articles and book reviews.

Articles must be between 4000 words (minimum) and 6000 words (maximum), which includes footnotes but excludes the required 120-word (maximum) abstract, five (minimum) images with references, the tiered bibliography (that separates Primary Sources, Secondary Sources, Internet Sources, et cetera), and 120-word (maximum) author's biography. Authors retain the copyright to their article.

Please submit articles as a Word document to journal@dresshistorians.org. Articles can be submitted any day during the year, except for special themed issues of The Journal of Dress History, which have a specific deadline, as follows.

11:59pm GMT, Sunday, 1 December 2019:

This is the article submission deadline for publication consideration for the special themed issue, titled, *The Victorian Age: A History of Dress, Textiles, and Accessories, 1819–1901*. Topics of potential articles could include any aspect of dress, textiles, and accessories for womenswear, menswear, and childrenswear of any culture or region of the world during the lifetime of Queen Victoria, 1819–1901.

11:59pm GMT, Tuesday, 1 December 2020:

This is the article submission deadline for publication consideration for the special themed issue, titled, **Costume Drama: A History of Clothes for Stage and Screen**. Topics of potential articles could include any aspect of clothes in theatre, opera, ballet, film, television, pantomime, advertisements, cartoons, et cetera, of any time period and culture or region of the world.

By submitting an article to The Journal of Dress History, authors acknowledge and accept the following:

- The article is the author's original work and has not been published elsewhere.
- Authors are responsible for ensuring that their submitted article contains accurate facts, dates, grammar, and spelling.
- Once the article has been accepted for publication in The Journal of Dress History, the article cannot be revoked by the author.
- The article will be submitted to a double blind peer review process.
- The article contains neither plagiarism nor ethical, libellous, or unlawful statements.
- The article follows the submission guidelines of The Journal of Dress History.
- All submissions are subject to editorial revision.
- Authors must adhere to the following guidelines, specified in alphabetical order.

- abbreviation** Spell out abbreviations at the first appearance in the article; thereafter, only the abbreviation can be used, for example: Victoria and Albert Museum (V&A).
- No full stops (periods) in academic and monetary abbreviations; for example: MA, PhD, GBP, etc.
- Use a full stop with abbreviated titles; for example: Dr.
- Do not abbreviate “et cetera” [etc.]. Write out et cetera.
- ampersand** Do not use an ampersand [&] unless it is legally required, as in part of a formal book or magazine title or the name of a company.
- Ampersands can be used when it an accepted form of identification; for example: V&A.
- artefact** Write artefact (not artifact)
- articles** Refer to your “article,” not the “paper.”
- Definite articles (“the”) must always be included in proper titles, such as *The New York Times*, The Savoy Hotel, The University of Brighton.
- Indefinite articles (“a” or “an”) before a word that begins with the letter, h, must be written as follows:
- An historic
An hotel
- article title** Articles submitted to The Journal of Dress History must include a descriptive title that includes the research topic, a date, and geographical reference; for example:
- Feminists in High Heels: The Role of Femininity in Second-Wave Feminists’ Dress in Finland, 1973-1990
- Appearance, National Fashion, and the Construction of Women’s Identity in Eighteenth Century Spain

bibliography

A tiered bibliography (that separates Primary Sources (unpublished first, then published), Secondary Sources, Internet Sources, etc.) must be included at the end of the article.

Notice that the bibliographical references differ slightly in format from the footnotes. Bibliographical references do not contain page numbers (unless an article within a journal is cited), and they are listed in alphabetical order with surname first.

List only the books and articles that were actually cited within the article.

Publications written by the same author must be listed in chronological order of publication (with the oldest publication first).

The following is an example of a bibliography.

Unpublished Sources

Letter Written by Admiral Soandso Regarding Sailors' Clothing, ADM/Z/449/27 August 1743, Caird Library, The National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, England.

Published Sources

Cumming, Valerie, Cunnington, CW, and Cunnington, PE, *The Dictionary of Fashion History*, Bloomsbury Academic, London, England, 2010.

Reynolds, Anna, *In Fine Style: The Art of Tudor and Stuart Fashion*, Royal Collection Trust, London, England, 2013.

Ribeiro, Aileen, "Re-Fashioning Art: Some Visual Approaches to the Study of the History of Dress," *Fashion Theory*, Routledge, Abingdon, England, Volume 2, Issue 4, 1998, pp. 315-325.

Ribeiro, Aileen, *Fashion and Fiction: Dress in Art and Literature in Stuart England*, Yale University Press, London, England, 2005.

Richmond, Vivienne, *Clothing the Poor in Nineteenth-Century England*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, England, 2013.

Internet Sources

Conlon, Scarlett, "Burberry Reveals Runway To Retail," 20 September 2016, <http://www.vogue.co.uk/article/burberry-see-now-buy-now-runway-to-retail>, Accessed 7 October 2016.

- birthdate** Include a birthdate and deathdate when introducing a new person; for example:
- Charles Frederick Worth (1825-1895)
- case** Use a mixture of uppercase and lowercase letters. Do not type titles or headings in solely uppercase letters.
- century** Write centuries without hyphens or numbers; for example:
- The twentieth century design of...
- clarity** Clarity of writing is essential. Ensure that each word and each sentence are clearly written, so every reader understands the intended meaning. Write for the reader who does not know your specific research topic. Educate the reader of your article by defining words and explaining concepts.
- Ensure that each sentence follows is a logical sequence, and each paragraph naturally flows to the next paragraph.
- When referring to a particular country or region of the world, consider including a map in order to illustrate geographical locations, so the reader will clearly understand.
- Additionally, ensure that the overall article has employed clarity of organisation (with a clearly defined introduction, body, and conclusion). Ensure that the introduction serves as the roadmap of the article. The introduction must include a thesis statement or brief overview of the entire article.

colon	Do not capitalise the word following a colon [:].
colonial	Lowercase the word, colonial; for example: An interesting aspect of dress in colonial America was...
comma	Only insert a comma in numbers that are five digits or more; for example: 3000 30,000 With three or more items in a series, insert a comma before the conjunction; for example: red, white, and blue
compound word	Compound words are generally treated as a single word, without spacing or hyphenation; for example: homemade, piecemade, machinemade lace secondhand hardback, softback
contraction	Avoid contractions; for example, write “it is” rather than “it’s.”
copyright	<p>The Journal of Dress History is copyrighted by the publisher, The Association of Dress Historians, while each published author within the journal retains the copyright to their individual article.</p> <p>The author is responsible for obtaining permission to publish any copyrighted material. The submission of an article is taken by The Editorial Board to indicate that the author understands the copyright arrangements of the journal. Specifically, work published by The Journal of Dress History retains a Creative Commons copyright license that allows articles to be freely shared, copied, and redistributed in any medium of format but must be attributed to the author and cannot be used commercially or remixed or transformed unless the licensor gives permission.</p>

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https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/481194/c-notice-201401.pdf

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country

Be careful when referring to modern states in a historical context, for example:

This sentence is incorrect:
Prince Albert was born in Germany in 1819.

However, this sentence is correct:

Prince Albert was born in the Saxon duchy of Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld in 1819.

Technically, Germany unified both politically and administratively in 1871; therefore, “Germany” should only be used from 1871 onward.

dash

Insert proper “en dashes” when hyphenating. Do not use the “minus” symbol on the computer keyboard. To insert an en dash, place the cursor where you want to insert the en dash, then go to Insert, Symbol, en dash.

For long dashes in text—follow the same procedure as above yet insert an “em dash” twice.

date

Format dates, as follows:

29 September 1939

920 BC to 775 AD

Datespans must be fully written, such as 1628–1629 (not 1628–29); likewise, pp. 348–370 (not pp. 348–70).

decade

Write the word, “during” when describing a decade or century. Do not write, for example, “in the 1930s.” Instead, write “during the 1930s.”

Do not include an apostrophe when writing a decade; for example:

1770s

early, mid, late

Do not hyphenate with the words, early, mid, or late; for example:

During the early twentieth century...

Mid nineteenth century stockings...

During the mid 1930s, men...

Mid to late Victorian dress...

- eligibility** Regarding publication eligibility, articles submitted to The Journal of Dress History must not have been published elsewhere.
- Article publication in The Journal of Dress History is for ADH members only. Authors are not required to hold an ADH membership at the time of article submission; however, all authors of articles that are published in The Journal of Dress History must hold a current ADH membership at the time of their article publication. ADH memberships are only £10 per year and are valid from 1 January to 31 December inclusive, regardless of when during the year the membership commences. For more information regarding ADH membership, visit www.dresshistorians.org/membership.
- ellipsis** Use an ellipsis to indicate an omission of a word or words in a quotation; for example:
- “The shirt was pink...and made of linen.”
- email** The Journal of Dress History requires that authors include their email address at the end of their article, as part of the copyright information. When submitting an article for publication consideration, include an email address that will allow the public to contact you should they have a question or comment about your article. For example, insert a derivation of the following information at the end of your article. Situate it after the bibliography and just above your 120-word author’s biography:
- Copyright © 2019 Your Firstname Lastname
Email: abc@xyz.com
- figure** Every article must include at least five images. Within the article text, there must be a reference for each figure (in parenthesis) within the text, for example (Figure 1).
- See “image caption,” below, for examples of correctly formulated captions.

footnote

Footnotes (not endnotes) are required in articles. (To insert a footnote into your article text in Microsoft Word, simply place the cursor where you wish the footnote number to appear. Select References in the Word menu, then Insert Footnote.)

When appropriate, footnotes must contain page numbers to denote the exact location of the reference.

Footnotes must be used primarily for referencing. Avoid the inclusion of long explanatory language in the footnotes.

Examples of correct footnoting format include:

Footnote for journal articles:

Alexandra Carter, “‘What Severall Worlds Might in an Eare-Ring Bee:’ Accessory and Materialism in the Seventeenth Century Work of Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle,” *The Journal of Dress History*, The Association of Dress Historians, London, England, Volume 1, Issue 1, Spring 2017, pp. 37–38.

Footnote where consecutive references are exactly the same:
Ibid.

Footnote where consecutive references are the same but with a different page number:
Ibid., p. 172.

Footnote for a book with one author:

Anna Reynolds, *In Fine Style: The Art of Tudor and Stuart Fashion*, Royal Collection Trust, London, England, 2013, pp. 10–11.

Footnote for online sources:

Scarlett Conlon, “Burberry Reveals Runway To Retail,” 20 September 2016, <http://www.vogue.co.uk/article/burberry-see-now-buy-now-runway-to-retail>, Accessed 7 October 2016.

Footnote for a book with two or more authors:

Valerie Cumming, CW Cunningham, and PE Cunningham, *The Dictionary of Fashion History*, Bloomsbury Academic, London, England, 2010, p. 79.

Footnote for a work that was previously (but not consecutively) footnoted. Notice how this footnote refers to Anna Reynolds' book, above:

Reynolds, op cit., p. 126.

“foreign” words

Do not italicise “foreign” words that have been adopted into the English language, such as “décolletage” or “kimono” or “zeitgeist.”

For other “foreign” words that may not be readily understood by readers, place the word in italics followed immediately by the English translation [in brackets]; for example:

He wore a Swedish *kiorte*/ [cloak, jerkin, or doublet] that featured silver embroidery.

Also refer to the entry, “language,” below.

format

Do not format the article, use “text boxes,” styles, or other formatting features. Do not wrap text.

full stop (period)

Insert a full stop at the end of every image citation, footnote, and bibliographical entry.

In cited quotations, insert the full stop inside the closing quotation mark, with the footnote number following; for example:

“Common assumptions are often wrong, especially in the field of fashion history, where myths can persist unchallenged for years.”⁵⁵

heading

Only one heading level can be utilised in articles, which must include Introduction, Conclusion, and other headings in between, to separate topics.

hyphen

To insert a hyphen in Word go to Insert, then Symbol, then select the en dash. Do not use the minus symbol on the keyboard. Examples of properly placed hyphens include:

a cross-cultural examination of...
long-term investment in...(yet there is no hyphen in: a longstanding ADH member)
She was the then-favourite of Louis XIV...
hand-coloured engraved plates
high-quality items
upper-class men
an ill-fated journey
non-professional embroiderers
long-established museum collections
post-revolutionary Cuba
present-day Denmark
a world-famous collection
The art history-based model of fashion history

Hyphen usage with adjectives versus objects:

They are well-known researchers. (Insert hyphen when used as an adjective).

He is well known. (No hyphen when used as an object.)

Likewise for “out-of-date:”

The computer utilises out-of-date technology.

After the French Revolution, the aristocratic *négligé* became out of date.

This is the same rule for “everyday:”

He wore his everyday clothes.

He ate an apple every day.

image

Every article must include at least five images. Within the article text, there must be a reference for each figure (in parenthesis) within the text, for example (Figure 1).

Image captions must appear directly below each image.

Images must be a maximum height of 600 pixels only. If authors' images are a higher resolution than 600 pixels in height, then the author needs to crop the image then reduce the resolution. The image caption must appear directly

underneath the image as plain text (not text within a text box).

image caption

Image citations must include a title, author/painter, date, medium and dimensions (if applicable), venue/collection, city, county/state/province (if applicable), country, and the unique identifying number (such as an inventory number, accession number, or museum identification number). The purpose of a citation within your article is to enable the image or item to be located by a reader.

Sample image captions for paintings:

Charles I and Henrietta Maria Departing for the Chase, Daniel Mytens, circa 1630–1632, Oil on Canvas, 282 x 408.3cm, © The Royal Collection, London, England, RCIN 404771.

Pit Brow Girl, Hannah Keen, 1895, Oil on Canvas, © The National Coal Mining Museum for England, Wakefield, England, KSMM:2004.2736.

Sample image captions for works of art in manuscript collections:

The Rutland Psalter, Artist Unknown, circa 1260, © The British Library, London, England, Additional MS 62925, 42r.

Three Studies of a Woman, Antoine Watteau, 1717, Sanguine on Paper, 16.5 x 24.8cm, © The National Museum, Stockholm, Sweden, NMH 2824/1863.

Sample image caption for art in historic pamphlets:

Pamphlet Title Page, *A Most Certain, Strange, and True Discovery of a Witch*, Printed by John Hammond, 1643, London, England, © Ferguson Collection, The University of Glasgow, Glasgow, Scotland, Sp Coll Ferguson Al-x.57.

Marie Taglioni in the Title Role of the Ballet, La Sylphide, Paris, 1832, Hand-Coloured Woodcut, Harry Beard Collection, © The Victoria and Albert Museum, London, England, S.259-1988.

Sample image captions for artefacts:

British Day Dress of Aniline Dyed Silk, Lined with Cotton, Trimmed with Satin and Bobbin Lace, Reinforced with Whalebone, Maker Unknown, circa 1870-1873, © The Victoria and Albert Museum, London, England, T.182&A-1914.

Textile Design, Wladyslaw Strzeminski, 1948, © The National Museum, Warsaw, Poland, Wzr.t.479/6.

Detail, Burse for the Great Seal of Elizabeth I, Maker Unknown, circa 1596-1603, © The British Museum, London, England, 1997,0301.1.

A Tulup [Long Sheepskin Coat from the Russian тулуп], circa 1840-1850, © Hallwyl Museum, Stockholm, Sweden, 7467.

If a researcher has photographed inside an archive, the image caption must include who photographed the item and on which date; for example:

A Tulup [Long Sheepskin Coat from the Russian тулуп], circa 1840-1850, © Hallwyl Museum, Stockholm, Sweden, 7467, Photographed by Firstname Lastname, 28 September 2018.

Sample image captions for photographs:

Olive Schreiner in Kimberley, South Africa, JE Middlebrook, 1895, Olive Schreiner Collection, © National English Literary Museum, Grahamstown, South Africa, 2005_51_19_103.

Five Generations on Smith's Plantation, Beaufort, South Carolina, Timothy H. O'Sullivan, 1862,
© The Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC, United States, 98504449.

Alf Louth and Chris Cheever Wearing Onshore Suits on St Matthew Street in Hull, Photographer Unknown, 1961, The Private Collection of Alf Louth, Hull, England.

Sample image captions for items in a magazine:

Front Cover, *The Model of a Blue Wedding Dress*, Milena Pavlovic Barilli, © *Vogue*, American Edition, New York, New York, United States, 1 April 1940.

Advertisement, *Fall Collection of Eldridge de Paris*, *Rolling Stone* Magazine, Special Men's Issue, © Wenner Media, New York, New York, United States, 9 October 1975, p. 65.

Spinning Demonstrations at the Weald and Downland Open Air Museum, inside SUSSEX Magazine, © Sideways Media, Brighton, England, February 2017, p. 48.

Sample image captions for items in a company catalogue:

Front Cover, *Old Clothes from New Clothes*, Shanghai Textile Company, Shanghai Cultural Department, China, The Private Collection of Anthony Bednall, Manchester, England, 1957.

Hamsa Damayanthi Silk Sari, RmKV Fashion Sales Catalogue, Chennai, India, December 2015, p. 4.

Sample image captions for items in a novel or book:

Frontpiece, *Anne of Green Gables*, LM Montgomery, Illustrated by MA and WAJ Claus, LC Page and Company, Boston, Massachusetts, United States, 1908.

Franz Liszt, Drawn by Carl Hartmann, 11 October 1843, National Forschungs und Gedenkstätten der klassischen deutschen Literatur in Weimar [National Research and Memorial Centre for Classical German Literature in Weimar], Nuremberg, Germany, in © Ernst Burger, and Stewart Spencer, trans., *Franz Liszt: A Chronicle of His Life in Pictures and Documents*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, United States, 1989.

Sample captions for a television or film still or movie poster:

The Character, Gus Carmichael, Portrayed by Noah Marullo, Film Still from *Tracy Beaker Returns*, © British Broadcasting Corporation, London, England, 2010.

The Actress, Evgeniya Sabelnikova, and Her Real-Life Daughter, Film Still from *Olenja Ohota*, Directed by Yuri Boretsky © Gorky Film Studio, Moscow, Russia, 1981.

American Film Poster for The Little Foxes, Samuel Goldwyn Productions/RKO Pictures, Hollywood, California, United States, © International Movie Database (IMDb), 1941.

Sample image caption for a record or album cover:

Album Cover, *Prince, Dirty Little Mind*, Allen Beaulieu, © Warner Bros. Records, Burbank, California, United States, 8 October 1980.

Sample image caption for an image from a website:

A Victorian Print Reproduced in "Murder on the Hackney Express: The First-Class Train Killing that Terrified the Victorian Middle Classes," Harriet Arkell, 15 February 2013,
© <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2279102/Thomas-Briggs-murder-train-Franz-Muller-gripped-Victorian-Britain.html>,
Accessed 6 December 2018.

	<p>All website addresses must be linked to the exact page reference, so the reader can access the referenced webpage. All website captions must include the date on which the website was accessed.</p>
indefinite article	<p>Use “an” (not “a”) as an indefinite article for words beginning with an “h,” as in:</p> <p>An historical overview</p>
initials	<p>Avoid initials. Spell out authors’ entire first and last names, unless the author is specifically known by initials; for example, TS Eliot.</p>
italics	<p>Titles of books and picture (such as paintings and photographs) must be italicised.</p> <p>Museum exhibition titles are unitalicised.</p> <p>The Journal of Dress History remains unitalicised in text.</p>
items in a series	<p>With three or more items in a series, insert a comma before the conjunction; for example:</p> <p>red, white, and blue</p>
justification	<p>Left justify article text but centre justify image captions.</p>
language	<p>When possible, articles must be written in British English. The only acceptable standard for dictionary references is the <i>Oxford English Dictionary</i>, not lesser-known dictionaries or American versions, such as dictionaries published by Merriam-Webster.</p> <p>Non-English material can be included in the article but an English translation must accompany it. To include a long passage of translated material, include the English translation into the body of the article, with the original non-English text in a footnote. In the bibliography, include an English translation in brackets after any identifying information, for example:</p>

“Confiscationer I Stockholm,” Överdirektören vid Sjötullen, Advokatfiskalen, Liggare [The Director at Sea Customs, Public Prosecutor, Ledger], D3, Volume 1-2, Riksarkivet [National Archives of Sweden], Stockholm, Sweden, 1803.

lowercase

Some examples of lowercase format:

court dress
western attire
(yet uppercase for a location, such as: in the West)

movements

Capitalise art and design movements; for example:

Impressionism
Arts and Crafts
Cubism
The Aesthetic movement...

not

Condense language for efficiency and clarity. Be aware of the usage of the word, “not;” for example:

Write “inaccessible” rather than “not accessible.”
Write “impossible” rather than “not possible.”
Write “unrestricted” rather than “not restricted.”
Write “indirectly” rather than “not directly.”
Write “unclear” rather than “not clear.”

numbers

Fully spell out numbers below 10; for example:
one, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine

But use numbers from 10 onwards; for example:
10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, etc.

Write out “hundreds” and “thousands;” for example:
There were hundreds of garments in the warehouse.

origin unknown

If the artist, maker, or author are unknown, then specify it in the image caption, footnote, or bibliography; for example:

Maker Unknown
Photographer Unknown

pages	<p>Articles must be paginated at the bottom centre page.</p> <p>When referring to page numbers in footnotes and in the bibliography, use the following format.</p> <p>p. 43. pp. 67–78. pp. 103–123, 167. pp. 200–203.</p>
paragraphs	<p>Ensure that paragraphs are properly balanced; for example, one- or two-sentence paragraphs are rarely acceptable.</p> <p>Do not indent paragraphs; instead, simply insert a blank line to separate paragraphs.</p>
percentages	<p>Use the percent sign instead of writing out “twenty percent;” for example:</p> <p>20%</p>
person	<p>When writing an article, never utilise first person singular (I, me, my, mine) or first person plural (we, us, our, ours).</p> <p>Never utilise second person singular or plural (you, your, yours).</p> <p>Instead, only utilise third person singular (he/she/it, him/her/it, his/her/its, his/hers/its) or third person plural (they, them, their, theirs).</p>
plural possessives	<p>Ensure that plural possessives are correct; for example:</p> <p>fifteenth century farmers’ garments tailors’ journals</p>
prefix	<p>Do not hyphenate words with the following prefixes.</p> <p><u>co+ words:</u> coexisting, cooperate, codependent, etc.</p> <p><u>inter+ words:</u> interdisciplinary, interwar, interwoven, international, etc.</p>

multi+ words:

multipronged, multiyear, multifaceted, multicoloured, etc.

non+ words:

nonbinary (except non-professional embroiderers)

post+ words:

postgraduate, postdoctoral (except pre-war and post-war)

pre+ words:

prehistory, preemptive

re+ words:

reexamination, recreate, reenactment, remakers, reuse

under+ words:

underrepresented, understudied, etc.

quotation marks

“Double” quotation marks must be used for “regular” quotations, with ‘single’ quotation marks used for quotations within quotations, for example:

As Steele wrote, “It is as though (critics) believe that collecting and exhibiting clothes in a museum effectively ‘kills’ their spirit.”

Quotations of more than three lines of typescript should be typed indented and without quotation marks or italics.

seasons

Within the article text, the seasons are lowercased, eg., spring, summer, autumn, winter.

Write “autumn” rather than “fall.”

Delete unnecessary words during the writing process; for example, instead of writing,
“By the spring of 1913...” write “By spring 1913...”

Only capitalise seasons when referring to specific published dates; for example:

“In the Winter 1926 issue of *Vogue* magazine....”

spacing	Single space all text. Insert only one space after colons and full stops (period).
tense	Write about history in the past tense, not the present tense.
time periods	Lowercase “early modern” and “medieval.” Uppercase “Renaissance” and the “Enlightenment.”
titles and headings	Titles of books and pictures (such as paintings and photographs) must be italicised. (See the entry, “italics,” above.) Always capitalise the first and last words of titles and headings. Verbs must be capitalised within titles. Articles (the, a, an) and conjunctions (and, but, et cetera) are not capitalised in titles and headings unless they appear as the first or last word in the title.
war	Do not write World War One or World War Two; instead, write: First World War Second World War
west	Capitalise the word, West, when referring to a location; for example: This occurred in the West... However, lowercase the word, western, when used as an adjective; for example: The concept of western dress emerged...
z	Use British spelling in words that otherwise would include the letter, z, in American spelling; for example, write: organisation (not organization) utilises (not utilizes)

Submission Guidelines for Book Reviews

Members of The Association of Dress Historians (ADH) are encouraged to consider writing a book review for publication in The Journal of Dress History. If you are not yet an ADH member but are interested in writing a book review, become a member today! ADH memberships are £10 per year and are available at www.dresshistorians.org/membership. If you would like to discuss an idea for a book review, please contact journal@dresshistorians.org.

Book reviewers are responsible for ensuring that their submitted book review contains accurate facts, dates, grammar, spelling, and adheres to the following book review guidelines.

Substance:

- Book reviews should include some insight into the author's background, experience, or qualifications.
- Book reviews must contain a critical analysis of the book, which could include the following five steps, in this order (as a suggestion):
 1. Provide an overview of the book
 2. Identify important information in the book
 3. Place this book into the wider context and literature
 4. Critically analyse the book, including:
 - Organisation and clarity of writing
 - Identification of logical flaws
 - Critical assessment of research methods
 - Use of sources
 5. In conclusion, articulate an academic opinion of the book

- At the end of the book review, reviewers must provide guidance on whether the readers of The Journal of Dress History should consider purchasing the book or view the work as an important point of reference for a particular field.
- Where appropriate, reviewers should provide relevant counterarguments, with references, to points of significant contention within the work under review.
- Errors of fact or typographical errors can be pointed out but should not be dwelt upon unless the reviewer feels the errors compromise the validity of the work as a whole.
- Please balance critical observations with a recognition of the contributions that the text might offer.
- Criticism must be substantiated with reference to appropriate alternative scholarly work.
- Reviews must aim to be professional, courteous, and temperate and not include attacks on the author as personal attacks will not be published.
- Due care and attention must be paid to diversity, equality, and the avoidance of generalisations.
- Footnotes are not permitted.

Form:

- Book reviews must be submitted as a Word document (with a .doc or .docx extension, never as a .pdf), written in block paragraphs with one horizontal line space between paragraphs, not indented but flushed left.
- For questions regarding writing style and format, please refer to the submission guidelines for articles, published in the previous chapter of this journal issue.
- Reviews must begin with the author(s)/editor(s), the book title, the publisher, city of publication, county/state/province (if applicable), country of publication, year of publication, (and then the following information though delete where appropriate) notes, appendices, bibliography, credits, index, illustrations, number of pages (written as 245pp), softback or hardback, and price (in British pounds sterling), eg:

Aileen Ribeiro, *Clothing Art: The Visual Culture of Fashion, 1600-1914*, Yale University Press, London, England, 2017, Notes, Bibliography, Credits, Index, 170 Colour Illustrations, 80 Black-and-White Illustrations, 572pp, Hardback, £55.00.

- At the end of the book review, insert your copyright information (as you will hold the copyright to your own book review) and your email address in the following format, which will appear at the end of your published book review:

Copyright © 2018 Your Firstname Lastname
Email: abc@xyz.com

- Follow the copyright notice with a 120-word (maximum) biography of yourself (written in essay format in the third person), which will be published with your book review.
- Quotations should be used where appropriate, using “double” quotation marks.
- When the book under review is quoted, the page number(s) must be cited at the end of the quotation, for example:
 - “This is an example of quoted material in a book review” (p. 93).
 - This is an example of unquoted (yet referenced) material in a book review (pp. 293-295).
- Book reviews must be between 700 words (minimum) and 1200 words (maximum), which excludes the book title information at the top of the review and the required 120-word (maximum) reviewer’s biography.

By submitting a book review to The Journal of Dress History, reviewers acknowledge and accept that:

- as a reviewer you do not hold any conflict of interest;
- the review is the author’s original work and has not been published elsewhere;
- once the review has been accepted for publication in The Journal of Dress History, the review cannot be revoked by the reviewer;
- the review contains neither plagiarism nor ethical, libellous, unlawful statements;
- the review follows the submission guidelines and style guide of The Journal of Dress History;
- all reviews are subject to editorial revision before publication;
- in the unlikely event that The Journal of Dress History declines to publish your book review, you are welcome to seek publication of your book review elsewhere.

Please direct all book review questions and comments to journal@dresshistorians.org.

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